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THE LIFE

OF

SIR ASTLEY COOPER, BART.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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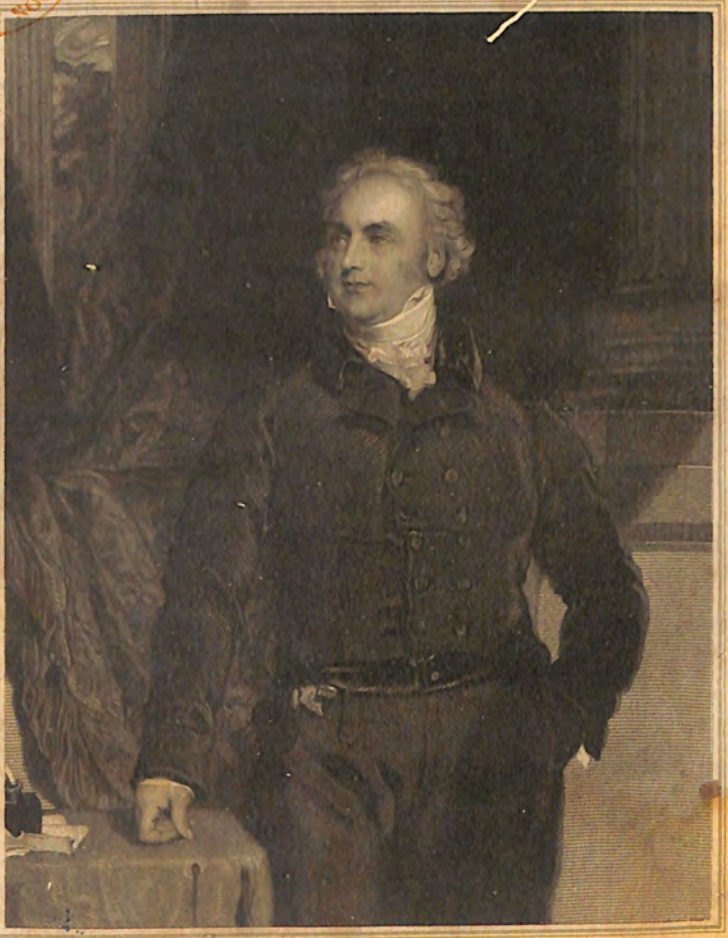

SIR ASTLEY PASTON COOPER, BART.

From a Original Picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.

London, Published by John W. Parker, West Strand.

THE LIFE

OF

SIR ASTLEY COOPER, BART.,

E. Surgeon.

INTERSPERSED WITH

SKETCHES FROM HIS NOTE-BOOKS

OF

DISTINGUISHED CONTEMPORARY CHARACTERS.

24071

BY

BRANSBY BLAKE COOPER, Esq., F.R.S.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

FEW works, perhaps, excite the public interest so much as those which attempt to develop the history of an individual who, during a long period of his life, has occupied one of the highest places in public notice and esteem. To observe such an one, not owing his distinction to exalted rank, or the privileges attached to high birth, but rising by the honourable exertion of his native energies, and ultimately attaining the most exalted pre-eminence, cannot but minister to the indulgence of a very laudable curiosity, and at the same time be productive of much intellectual gratification and moral benefit. The relation of his success, and the means by which he achieved it, invite strongly our interest and attention: our sympathies respond to such a call, and incorporate us with the object which arouses them. Those who are in the spring of their existence become embued with feelings similar to those which actuated him, and, emulous of his success, resolve to follow in his path; those who are in the meridian of their career, endeavour to discover a gratifying parallel in themselves; whilst

the aged may still be reconciled to the result of their pilgrimage, if less successful, by adopting the comfortable self-assurance that, the frowns of fortune, or some unlooked-for fatality, have alone prevented them from enjoying a similar distinction, or coming equally useful members of society.

The biography, therefore, of men of eminence and merit is especially calculated to please a large class of readers, and particularly those who, destined to be the architects of their own fortunes, study with assiduity the paths which their successful predecessors have trodden, in the flattering hope that the same stepping-stones may in like manner serve them in reaching the eminence which they are ambitious to attain. To them it will, at least, be an useful lesson to observe, that such distinction is only the reward of assiduous application, determined self-denial, unwearied industry, and high principle, without which, talents, however brilliant, will be of slight avail, or only prove to be the *ignes fatui* which betray to danger and destruction.

To the relatives, the friends, and even the acquaintances of the person whose life is delineated, the Memoir must ever prove a source of melancholy satisfaction. It brings back him whom the grasp of death has wrested from us; it places him once again in the social position which he has filled

among us; and carves indelibly that form on the tablet of our memory, which time's rude hand, perhaps, had otherwise erased. Convinced of the benefits to be derived from the biography of distinguished men, I am led to indulge the hope that the Life of Sir Astley Cooper may be thought of public service; for so far removed was he from among the number of those

> Dim lights of life, that burn a length of years,
> Useless, unseen, as lamps in sepulchres;

so extensive was the sphere of his acquaintance, so revered was he in his professional, and so beloved in his social capacity, that I feel no time can be misapplied, no labour misdirected, when devoted to the promulgation of his merits, or the perpetuation of his memory.

If in this undertaking my expressions may be thought occasionally to savour somewhat of extravagance, the respect I have entertained for Sir Astley Cooper from the period of my boyhood; the gratitude which I owe him for the instruction I derived at his hands; and the affection which I have always borne towards him as my relative; may surely be admitted, if not in justification of the fault, at least in extenuation of its degree. Partiality can scarcely be considered culpable, where its absence would be almost criminal; but those who knew Sir Astley best, will be the most ready to admit, that

language must far exceed its usual power which shall overrate his usefulness, industry, or talents; or which shall paint too vividly his many virtues. While investigating his history, I may most truly assert, that I have not discovered one act, which detracted from the integrity of his private or professional character; and there is, therefore, no feature in his history, which, as a relative, I could have wished to withhold from the knowledge of my readers, even if I could have been unfaithful enough, as a biographer, to have done so. To give to the reader a full and impartial knowlege of the life and personal character of Sir Astley Cooper has been my aim; and, if I have succeeded in doing this, I have depicted one of the most illustrious surgeons that ever adorned the science he professed, and one of the kindest-hearted men that ever drew and yielded up the breath of life.

INTRODUCTION.

It is necessary to make some preliminary comments on various matters connected with the contents of this work. It was undertaken by me in accordance with the expressed wish of Sir Astley Cooper, and among his papers were found many proofs that he had long contemplated the publication of such a work, having at various periods briefly made memoranda of the leading events, and many interesting particulars of his life. Some little account of these documents themselves cannot fail to be interesting. Although not bearing any date, various circumstances lead to the conclusion that one of them was written about the time he left the city, but it is simply a bare catalogue of the chief events relating to his professional writings and career. In the year 1836, while on a visit to the county of Norfolk, he was led by circumstances which are noticed in the body of the work, to write a more detailed account of his history, and from this chiefly have been taken the extracts which occur in this work.

I have thought that it would prove more agreeable to the reader to place before him the original remarks of Sir Astley Cooper, and therefore, wherever

circumstances permitted it, I have made him relate the current events of his history, in his own language, as extracted from his diary. These will not be the less interesting, because they are published in the brief, unpolished form in which they were originally noted down, for although they were scarcely intended for the public eye, but only to serve as signs, and places of reference for the biographer, yet they bear so forcibly the stamp of truth, and are often so graphic, that I have not dared to alter or suppress them.

There is no doubt that Sir Astley Cooper intended that whatever biographical memoirs of him might be published, should comprise an analysis of his professional writings, an account of the circumstances under which they were produced, their peculiar merits, and a comparison of them with the existing state of knowledge at the time of their appearance; that, in short, they should afford a complete view of him, both as the surgeon and author. To have accomplished such a task in the present instance, would have almost closed the work to all but the professional reader, and my object has been to afford to the public in general an insight into the habits and pursuits of a man, who for many years served them extensively in his professional capacity, and in whom they always exhibited the greatest interest. I therefore, soon after commencing the undertaking, determined, not without thought, so to arrange these volumes that they should contain only

such information as was calculated for the perusal of every one who might retain an interest in Sir Astley Cooper, and to defer to a future opportunity what may be strictly called his professional life. I found, however, as I proceeded, that this restriction involved many more difficulties than I had anticipated. It imposed the necessity of avoiding all technical terms, or, where they could not be dispensed with, of giving such explanation as might seem superfluous to the initiated, and of omitting many important subjects, connected more or less directly with his professional pursuits, together with anecdotes, the recital of which might offend the delicacy of some of my readers. Such difficulties, I have no doubt, have been experienced by other writers, and serve to account for the fact, that no one has hitherto attempted to render the history of any surgeon a matter of interest or amusement to the general public. On the other hand, perhaps it may be said that no author has had so favourable an opportunity; for few medical men in this country have ever held so remarkable a position in the eyes of their countrymen for so long a period, or endeared themselves by so many acts of conduct, independent of their profession, as Sir Astley Cooper.

In attempting to furnish my readers with some insight into the professional pursuits of Sir Astley Cooper, my good taste may perhaps be called in question for raising the veil so completely from the set of men, denominated Resurrectionists, concerning

whom for so long a time many vague ideas have floated in the minds of the public. It, however has been a matter of such general rejoicing, that the abhorrent labours of this class of men have been wholly discontinued, the enactments of Government having rendered them, now for some years, no longer indispensable for the attainment of medical knowledge, that the subject of their occupation, their crimes, and their fortunes, may be fairly considered the property of history. The same arguments which might be urged against the mention of these strange adventurers and their lives, might, with equal fairness, be urged against the recital of almost all the revolting details which are to be found recorded in the annals of every country. My chief object in dwelling upon such a subject was to prove the necessity which at one time existed for the employment of these men by members of the profession, and the repugnance with which they ever had recourse to their assistance; and thus to remove a stigma which has not unfrequently been cast upon them by the public, on account of their connexion with such persons. The zeal with which Sir Astley Cooper prosecuted his studies throughout his long career, rendered his connexion with these desperate characters at one time almost necessary to the furtherance of his pursuits; his position and influence so frequently enabled him to be of service to them in the difficulties in which they were often involved, that he was looked up to by them as their head; and his name became inextricably

entangled with their calling. This fact first led me, not, however, until after I had consulted high authorities on the propriety of such a course, to give a description of the Resurrectionists and their occupations; and although some may shrink at the account which I have given, to others, perhaps, the pages in life which their histories unfold, may be fraught with interesting and curious reflections.

I feel that no apology is required for introducing the sketches, which occur in this work, of the characters and histories of persons variously connected with Sir Astley Cooper; whether those of his nearest relatives, of his fellow-pupils, or of his friends and companions in after life. Of the first, it cannot be otherwise than important to portray the characters of those individuals, who made the strongest impressions on his early mind, and whose precepts and examples gave the bias to his future career. The memoirs of the second are curious from the contrast they in some cases formed with Sir Astley's progress, and of the third class the account cannot fail to be interesting, inasmuch as they comprehend the most distinguished men of his day in their several pursuits; and, moreover, we know how much of the real character of the chief subject is brought out, and, indeed, depends upon his associates in his public situation and in his hours of relaxation, just as subordinate characters in a well-written play assist and strengthen the development of the hero of the drama. But a

more powerful reason, and without which much of this deviation from the direct narrative would not have been entered into, has originated in the concise, pithy, and graphic sketches of these persons, left by Sir Astley himself. The interest which must attach to remarks, however brief, coming from so experienced an observer of human nature, will form the apology, if one should be required, for the notices which have been introduced of persons even indirectly connected with him.

I cannot neglect the opportunity which this Introduction affords, of expressing my deep sense of the kindness of those friends who have furnished me with various communications relating to the subject of this history. The readiness with which replies have been sent to every inquiry I have had to make of the early friends of Sir Astley Cooper, cannot be considered otherwise than as a testimony of the respect and esteem with which they regard the memory of their distinguished associate. Some of these correspondents will, perhaps, be surprised that portions, only, of their communications have appeared in these volumes, but the suppressed parts related almost exclusively to professional subjects, and I have already mentioned the reasons which appeared to me to render this omission necessary. Those communications which have been consonant with the plan of this work, I have invariably, where circumstances would allow, inserted in the writer's own words, which I cannot but hope will be, for

obvious reasons, more acceptable to the reader, than had they been related in the regular language of this narrative. As the names of these gentlemen invariably accompany the information which they had the kindness to communicate, I may be allowed briefly to return to them my thanks for the readiness with which they have invariably responded to my enquiries.

In addition to those whose names occur in the course of the work, my obligations are due to my friend Dr. Badely, of Chelmsford; to Dr. Roots, of Kingston; to Mr. Roberton, Librarian of the Royal Society, for his friendly assistance with respect to all information regarding Sir Astley's connexion with the Royal Society; and to Mr. Belfour, the Secretary of the Royal College of Surgeons. I cannot, also, help expressing my regret that an interesting communication from Dr. Blundell did not arrive until after the matters to which it related had gone through the press; it would have otherwise enabled me to mention one or two anecdotes respecting Dr. Haighton, that it would have afforded me much pleasure to have inserted in the course of this history.

The difficulty of collecting and arranging detached memoranda, and scattered reminiscences, my professional duties and engagements, together with other circumstances of a more private nature, must

be accepted as my apology for the many defects to be found in these volumes. But, I shall feel satisfied if, to those who were intimate with Sir Astley Cooper, my work shall recall recollections of him in the several scenes it attempts to describe; and if, to those who only knew him by name, it shall be the means of enabling them to form a just conception of his character and worth.

New Street,
June, 1842.

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THE LIFE

OF

SIR ASTLEY COOPER, BART.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE OF SIR ASTLEY COOPER. HIS FAMILY. BRIEF HISTORY OF ITS MEMBERS*.

SIR ASTLEY PASTON COOPER was descended on his father's side from a family which had long been settled at Hingham, in Norfolk. His great-grandfather, Mr. Samuel Cooper, married Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Thomas Newton, Esq., of Norwich, and Cassandra, his wife, whose maiden name was Jermyn.

Cassandra Jermyn was daughter of Sir Thomas Jermyn, Bart., of Rushbrook, in Suffolk. She became the wife of Mr. Thomas Newton, a relation of Sir Isaac Newton,—his nephew, it is believed, —A.D. 1676; and, outliving her husband, she is described as patroness of the living of Edgefield, and lady of Ellingham Manor, in the county of Norfolk. By this marriage Mr. Newton had twenty-one children, of whom Henrietta Maria, the wife of

* The historical account of the family has been chiefly furnished to me by Mr. Bransby Cooper, the eldest brother of Sir Astley Cooper, and oldest surviving member of the family.

Mr. Samuel Cooper, was the survivor. She received her christian names from Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles the First, of whom it has always been presumed she was a god-daughter. There is now little doubt that the Queen, after the King's death, married Sir Henry Jermyn, of Rushbrook, who had previously been created Baron Dover, and subsequently, in the reign of Charles the Second, became Earl of St. Albans.

It is likewise a family tradition that Sir Isaac Newton, who died a bachelor, was very fond of Henrietta Maria Newton, and had her frequently to stay with him.

The paternal grandfather of Sir Astley Cooper was Samuel, a surgeon at Norwich, and a man of considerable literary attainments. He lived on terms of close intimacy with the county families of the neighbourhood, and though this entailed on him considerable expense, he yet contrived to amass a handsome fortune. He had a peculiar facility in acquiring languages, but devoted himself especially to French literature, as the large collection of books in that language which he left behind him abundantly prove. I have heard Sir Astley mention little characteristic tracts of his grandfather, whom he described as being not over-scrupulous in his language, and, in accordance with the habit of the times, often prefacing his remarks with an oath. It seemed that compunction of conscience now and then smote him. One Sunday morning, to his coachman's surprise, he desired him to get ready,

and go to church with him. On their return home, after the service, he addressed his man upon the beauty of the sermon, adding that it was his intention to go again in the afternoon, upon which the servant, who appears to have acquired his master's failing, no longer able to contain himself, burst out, with an oath, that this was too hot to last. Mr. Cooper took the reproof in good part, and postponed his intended afternoon devotion to another Sunday.

Mr. Cooper married Miss Lovick, the eldest daughter of William Lovick, an Alderman of Norwich, who was much respected by his fellow-citizens for his integrity and attainments. By this marriage, Mr. Cooper had three children:—Samuel, the father of Sir Astley; William, who became a surgeon in London; and a daughter Mary, who died unmarried.

Samuel Cooper, the grandfather of Sir Astley, some years before his death, retired from practice, and left Norwich, to reside with his elder son, Dr. Cooper, then perpetual curate of Great Yarmouth. He died, however, at Dunstan, in Norfolk, in 1785, leaving a handsome fortune to each of his two sons; and was buried in St. Stephen's church, Norwich*.

* The following epitaph may be seen in that church:—

Hic jacet
SAMUEL COOPER,
Hujus urbis et Parochiæ
Per multos annos
Civis et Incola.

[Scientiæ

Dr. Cooper, whom we have just mentioned, also named Samuel, was the father of the subject of these memoirs, and maintained the intellectual character of his family, besides enjoying a high reputation as a divine. He was born in his father's house at Norwich, in the year 1740, and was educated in the free-school of his native city, until he was seventeen years old, when he was entered a pensioner at Magdalen College, Cambridge. On taking his Bachelor's degree, about three years afterwards, he went in for honours, with no misplaced confidence, it seems, in his own abilities, for he was one of the wranglers of his year. A very short period elapsed before his ordination; and in 1761, while yet a curate, he married Miss Bransby, the daughter of James Bransby, Esq., of Shotisham.

Soon after his marriage, Mr. Cooper was presented with the rectory of Yelverton, in Norfolk, which he obtained in the following manner:—The Rev. Mr. Castell, the father of the present respected incumbent, and Mr. Cooper, were contemporaries at college; and on the vicarage of Brooke becoming vacant, both tried for the next presentation, but

Scientiæ Medicæ Peritus,
Vixit tam aliis quam sibi,
Obiit 16to Die Augusti, A.D. 1785,
Ætatis suæ 74.
Resurgat ad vitam cœlestem.
Maria uxor ejus
Gulielmi Lovick armi
Filia
Obiit 1mo Die Augti A.D 1784.

the superior interest of Mr. Castell prevailing, Mr. Cooper for a time acted as curate to his more successful rival. To soften, however, the disappointment of Mr. Cooper, he was promised, chiefly through the instrumentality of Lord Suffield, that he should receive the next Crown living which should become vacant in Norfolk. Within a twelvemonth afterwards, Yelverton, a benefice worth three times that of Brooke, did become vacant, and Mr. Cooper was accordingly inducted as the incumbent of that rectory.

Mr. and Mrs. Cooper resided for six years after their marriage with Mr. Bransby, at Shotisham; and during this period were born three sons:—Robert Bransby, Samuel Lovick, William Houman; and two daughters:—Charlotte Maria, and Marianne. This rapid increase of family now induced them to remove to the manor-house of Brooke Hall, about three miles from Shotisham; and after the change of residence were born two sons:—Astley Paston, and Beauchamp Newton; and three daughters:—Anna Maria, Margaret Bransby, both of whom died in infancy, and Anna Maria Inyon,—making in all a family of ten children.

While Mr. and Mrs. Cooper were settled at Brooke Hall, Mr. Bransby purchased the living of Morley, and presented it to his son-in-law, from whom it has passed to his grandson, Charles Beauchamp Cooper, the present rector. The corporation of Norwich also bestowed upon him the curacies of

Mundham and Seething. When Mr. Samuel Cooper was of sufficient standing to take his Doctor's degree in Divinity, he went to Cambridge for that purpose, and we are told that he was then considered to be an eminent divine, not only in his own county, but by his professional brethren generally. In the year 1781, through the intervention of Dr. Lloyd, Dean of Norwich, Dr. Cooper was appointed to the perpetual curacy of Great Yarmouth, a large cure of souls, then amounting to 16,000 people, and supported by Easter-Dues, Fisherman's Doles or Gifts, and voluntary contributions Upon obtaining this preferment, Dr. Cooper left Brooke, where he had now lived thirteen years*. The rest of his life, a period of twenty years, he dwelt at the Parsonage-house of Great Yarmouth; and it is mentioned as a proof of the estimation in which he was held by his parishioners, that the income he derived from the spontaneous contributions above alluded to, considerably exceeded that which any of his predecessors had obtained from the same sources.

From the hospitality maintained by Dr. Cooper, as well as the station of his visitors, among whom some of the most celebrated political and literary

* His farewell sermon, preached on this occasion, still dwells in the memories of the few now alive who were present at its delivery, and has been described to me as particularly impressive, the greater part of his audience being affected to tears. He chose for his text, very appropriately, the parting words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, "Finally, brethren, Farewell."

characters of the day not unfrequently occurred, he was looked up to by all classes of people with considerable respect. His house became an object of great local interest; and set, as it were, a pattern of graceful, as well as decorous behaviour, to the rest of the town. Although with his age he continued increasing in the regard and esteem of his parishioners, as well as in worldly substance, his prosperity was by no means unalloyed by domestic suffering. While at Yarmouth all his daughters—two only of whom reached the age of womanhood—fell a sacrifice to consumption. Dr. Cooper survived these severe trials in his christian pilgrimage till the 7th of January, 1800, when he died, in the sixtieth year of his age. A twelvemonth previously he was rendered unable to preach or leave his house; but the illness which proved immediately fatal was not of long duration.

Dr. Cooper possessed in an eminent degree the feelings and habits of a gentleman, as was evinced by the strict attention which he paid to all the rules of good breeding. The fastidious, perhaps, might charge him with exacting attention to his own side of an argument for a longer time than he would allow an opponent, but that is a blemish which one so courted as he was in provincial society can hardly avoid. It has been said by those who knew him best, that his usual manner was rather calculated to gain respect than to insure acquiescence, and that even the brightest tints of his disposition were

clouded by an austerity which tended to diminish the favourable influence which his character would otherwise have secured. We have already mentioned the high esteem in which he was held while incumbent of Yarmouth, and which was so substantially evinced by his parishioners: we may add, that the honourably acquired fortune which this reputation procured for him, was in no respect ill bestowed. His donations to the poor were ample and liberal, and every parochial duty was rigidly performed. Dr. Cooper visited the sick most assiduously; not waiting for an application from the patient or his family; but on the slightest intimation from the parish clerk that any of his flock wanted assistance, he hastened at once to visit and pray with the penitent; and whether afflicted in body or in mind, contributed by every means in his power to alleviate his distress, and to cheer his last moments with the bright prospect of a blessed immortality.

Dr. Cooper not only had divine service performed twice every Sunday regularly throughout the year, at that time by no means usual, but also gave evening lectures in the summer, which were numerously attended:—nor did he seem satisfied at any period of his professional career, with merely performing the duties of his calling within his own immediate circle, but anxiously promulgated his views in pamphlets and sermons tending to promote Christian doctrine and practice. As a magistrate he actively and beneficially discharged another class

of duties, and as a member of the community he was equally ready to suggest schemes of public utility and beneficence. He took much interest in the success of the "hundred houses," or houses of industry, considering them as calculated to afford a better plan of relief than that supplied by the parochial workhouses of the period, and devoted much time and attention to that of Heckingham, in Norfolk, the foundation of which, indeed, was chiefly owing to his exertions. One of his publications is entitled, *Definitions and Axioms relative to Charity, Charitable Institutions, and the Poor Laws;* and in this, houses of industry were first recommended to the attention of the public, a subject still frequently engaging the attention of the Legislature.

His publications were numerous, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine** of the period are characterized "as eminently distinguished, whether on religious or political matters, by an ardent zeal for the increase of Christian faith and practice, and by an animated attachment to the civil and ecclesiastical establishments of his country. In the former he laboured to explain apparent difficulties in the sacred text, and to confirm or defend the doctrines of the Church, while, at the same time, he contrasted the mild yet invigorating influences of genuine Christianity, with the delusive tenets of

* In Vol. 70, Part I., pp. 89 and 177, where also a complete list of the works of Dr. Cooper is published.

infidelity on the one hand, and the narrow spirit of sour sectarianism on the other. In the latter he exposed with success the nonsensical declaration of the natural rights of man, and by a deep disquisition into the origin of all government, led his reader to survey with gratitude the excellence of the limited monarchy of Great Britain, and to despise as well the reveries of mock philosophy, as the less disguised attacks of disaffection."

Mrs. Cooper, the wife of Dr. Cooper, whose talents and reputation as a writer entitle her to notice, must be here more particularly commemorated, from the influence which her mind and character naturally exerted over the future destinies of her son, Sir Astley Cooper. She was born in the year 1737, at Shotisham. Her father, James Bransby, Esq., was descended from Geoffrey de Brandesbee, the head of an ancient Yorkshire family, of which a scion subsequently settled at Harleston, in Norfolk. Her grandfather, Thomas Bransby, Esq., was a barrister at law, residing at Needham, near Harleston, and his father was Robert Bransby, Esq., of Harleston, also a lawyer, and steward of the Duke of Norfolk. The eldest paternal uncle of Mrs. Cooper, who came in succession to the family estate, settled at Bungay, in Suffolk, where he kept hounds, lived extravagantly, and diminished his patrimony. He had married into the Nelson family, which afterwards became so illustrious in the annals of English history from the

deeds of our great naval hero. The father of Mrs. Cooper was very different in character from his brother Thomas, and by his frugality and talents, as well as by his popular demeanour, elevated himself to a position equal to at least, if not beyond, that in which his father had stood before him. He married Anna Maria Paston, daughter of James Paston, Esq., of Harleston, a first-cousin of the Earl of Yarmouth, and by her had issue several daughters, and one son, who died at college, A.D. 1760. Maria Susanna, who became Mrs. Cooper, was the eldest daughter; and being regarded by her father as the representative of her family, at his death came into possession of the bulk of his real and personal property.

She was one of the most exemplary of human beings, and as remarkable for the feminine sweetness of her character in her early life, as she was afterwards distinguished for her cultivated talents, piety, and christian-like forbearance. In every stage of her existence, she adapted herself with wonderful versatility to the peculiar duties she was called upon to perform, and excited universal admiration, love, and respect. She was elegant in her form, with a cast of countenance that at once bespoke the sweetness of her disposition. So little did self occupy her thoughts, that she seemed as if she lived solely for the benefit of others. Religion formed the basis of her actions, however trivial; and in her person was remarkably exhibited the close affinity

between cultivated talents and virtuous affections. Latterly there was a shade of melancholy thrown over both the expression of her countenance and the general tenor of her conversation. This resulted, probably, from her family bereavements, which were numerous, and sometimes aggravated by peculiarly distressing circumstances.

As a wife she was never excelled. Devising means of increasing her husband's happiness was her constant aim; and she sought no other reward than the silent conviction of success. Perhaps she submitted rather too obsequiously to his will, either for his, or her own, happiness; for as my grandfather was naturally a little wayward, the pliancy of his wife's disposition encouraged a spirit of self-importance rather more than was quite consistent with that mutual deference to the wishes of each other, so necessary to conjugal happiness.

It would thus appear that Mrs. Cooper was eminently fitted for domestic life; but she did not confine her virtuous affections exclusively within the limited compass of her own family, but diffused them over the whole circle of her acquaintance. She was ever ready to participate in the joys of others, but equally so, to share their sorrows; and perhaps never did the loveliness of her character beam out with greater effect than when, bending over the couch of sorrow, she displayed to the sufferer the consolations of religion, with the eloquence inspired by her own convictions. I shall

have occasion hereafter to quote from letters, passages which will go far to justify this eulogium, which the severe eye of criticism may deem overcoloured by the partialities of kindred.

The death of her daughters, more especially that of her eldest, Charlotte Maria, produced a strong effect upon her mind; and on each succeeding loss, in proportion to the increase of her grief, arose an increase in her piety. The state of Mrs. Cooper's mind upon this sad event may be best learned from a letter dated February, 1786, addressed to her son Astley, soon after his sister's death.

"I thank you, my dearest Astley, for the motive which retarded your writing, and I love you more than ever for the sensibility of your heart on the loss of your angel sister. Never was there so blessed a departure; not a single circumstance could we wish to have been otherwise in respect to herself: but to your dear father and me the deprivation is irreparable, and to me particularly, to whom she had been for some months a constant companion, always a guide, a *second conscience.* I feel her loss more sensibly every succeeding day than the foregoing, and yet I hope I am not ungrateful for our remaining blessings, for still we possess seven inestimable children; and then what an husband am I blessed with! with what tenderness, what Christian fortitude did he exert himself to calm my mind! and yet it is to him a most severe trial, for never did father so affection-

ately love a daughter, and never was child so deservedly beloved. May we all, my dearest Astley, endeavour to live in exact conformity with this truly Christian model; then may we hope to die her most exemplary death, and, if heaven sees best, by as gentle a transition. Never was there I believe before so happy a being as she was. About a week before her decease, she told us she thought she must have some severe trial in the future part of her life, for that all her days hitherto had been inexpressibly, uninterruptedly happy; but such a heavenly disposition improved every circumstance. Never did any one so strongly recommend the practice of religious duties; the observance of them diffused not only a constant serenity, but a perpetual cheerfulness over her mind. Oh! she was the most perfect of human beings. Your dear father has preached two heart-piercing, yet heart-consoling sermons on this subject; I hope you will read them when you come down," &c. These two discourses, together with an elegy written by her eldest brother, were published in Yarmouth in 1786, under the title of *Consolation to the Mourner, and Instruction both to Youth and Old Age, from the Early Death of the Righteous.*

Soon after Dr. Cooper's death, Mrs. Cooper was induced to leave Yarmouth for Shotisham. Her removal from objects which could but constantly recall to her mind the heavy losses she had there sustained, would be the best means it was thought

of quickly restoring her to composure; more especially as she was about to return to the spot endeared by her earliest and happiest impressions. Here she was born;—here from infancy she had passed through the period of her childhood and advanced into womanhood. It was here, under the watchful eye of her father, she first listened to the persuasive voice of him who became her husband; here entered on the grateful duties of a wife, and became the mother of her four elder children. To return to this abode must have afforded her an ample source of mental employment, well adapted to assuage her present grief: for if I have not mistaken her character, the retrospect of her life must have been replete with mental satisfaction, from the consciousness of having, so far as human frailty would permit, perfectly fulfilled all the social and domestic duties of her station. Here she would probably have finally settled, had not her eldest son, Mr. Bransby Cooper, then living at Dursley, in Gloucestershire, urged his mother to pass her remaining days with him. Her great affection for her first-born child led her to sacrifice her strong local attachment to Norfolk, to comply with this request, and thus, not without many a pang, she quitted her native place for ever.

Her feelings upon this occasion will be best expressed by herself:

"I have, at last, my dear Astley, determined to accept the often repeated invitation of my

Bransby, the distance from whom has always excited in me great anxiety whenever I was ill;—may the Almighty sanction and bless the arduous undertaking! But still, sometimes, the thoughts of bidding a last adieu to Norfolk, to those scenes of early and wedded life, of quitting the places which contain the mortal remains of conjugal, filial, fraternal, parental, and friendly attachments, agitate my mind, and, indeed, sometimes threaten to shake my determination—but I think I am resolved," &c.

This letter is dated September, 1806, and the following month she accordingly bade adieu to Shotisham. In the interim she seemed so far to have recovered her spirits, as to have resumed a favourite, although only occasional, occupation, of amusing and light reading; for in the latter end of September she returns a book which she had borrowed, with the following critique on it :—"I own, after your opinion, I am disappointed in the *Thaddeus of Warsaw;* I began it yesterday with a disposition to be pleased, but it seems to me to be an odd medley,—so many battles, and, alas! too real,—so many private distresses,—so many characters and incidents,—that my spirits were agitated, and I could not continue the perusal. I return it, therefore, with many thanks for your kind indulgence, though I have not availed myself of it. In Miss More I have a delighful resource; she is always equal to whatever she undertakes, and I thank you for the loan." She left Norfolk with bitter feelings,

and travelled slowly up to the house of her son Astley, in London, under the care of her companion Miss Clark, who had resided with her for the last three or four years. She remained a week in Broad Street, during which period I have been informed, my uncle passed as much of his time with his mother as his professional avocations would permit, there not being one evening that he did not sit with her until her usual hour for retiring. The vivacity of her son's disposition, softened by his reverential affection for her, constituted that kind of agreeable relaxation which was best adapted to the condition of her mind; and my dear grandmother acknowledged that she had not considered herself susceptible of such early consolation as he afforded her. The natural pride of the mother was also gratified in witnessing the perfect success of her son in his professional career, for at this time he was in larger practice than any other surgeon in London. At the end of the week she proceeded into Gloucestershire, to Furney Hill, the residence of her son Bransby. Almost from the moment of her arrival here, there was an evident declining of her strength, though she still was in the full possession of her mental faculties, and possessed that tranquillity of mind and temper, the almost inseparable attendants of resigned piety. The last letter she ever wrote, if not to any one else, certainly the last to Mrs. Astley Cooper, well illustrates the still remaining sweetness of her disposition.

"I must write a few lines to thank my ever

dear daughter for her last most affectionate letter, and to assure her of the great pleasure she has imparted to her sister Lovick by her and my Astley's delightful attentions to her suffering child, and the hopes with which he inspires her of restoration to health and cure; may these be perfected, and the dear child prove a real and permanent blessing! I know how you enjoyed the kindness you administered to the poor child and tender mother. May you ever be rewarded, as well as my kind Astley."

This letter was written on June 27th, 1807, and on July the 3rd she died; her departure resembling the composure of an infant falling into slumber.

Mrs. Cooper was the authoress of many works, and at the period at which she wrote, enjoyed a considerable literary reputation. After her death, her eldest son, Mr. Bransby Cooper, republished all her works, and I have been informed by him, that they met with so ready a sale, that a few years afterwards he himself could not obtain a single copy to preserve as a memorial of his mother. I have lately made every effort to procure these works, but without success; and I therefore asked Mr. Bransby Cooper, my uncle, to furnish me with an account of them, which he did, in the following communication:—

"My dear Bransby,

"I thought in my former letters I had given you as much information as I could on the subject of my revered mother's compositions. As long as I

can recollect, in my progress from infancy to manhood, she was employed, and generally on an evening, in writing, *on her hand**, and preparing some composition for the press, either for the information of her children, or for the entertainment and instruction of the public.

"Her first productions were story books for children, published, as they usually were at that day, by Mr. Newberry, St. Paul's Churchyard. Some of them tended to show the advantages of Christian education, as exemplified in dialogues between a parent and her children, and had reference to her own mode of teaching. They have been succeeded, however, by more popular story books, which have likewise had their day.

"Of her novels, which were all written in letters supposed to have passed between the different characters of the story, the first was *Letters between Emilia and Harriet*, which she afterwards called *The Daughter*, and was distinguished by incidents and sentiments exhibiting filial affection and duty. The second, I believe, was *Fanny Meadows*, an interesting work, which first rendered her popular as a writer. The next was *The Wife*, containing a portraiture of the duties displayed in a happy conjugal union. The last, and much the most valuable of her compositions, was *The Exemplary Mother*, a work generally read at the time, and universally approved. It was

* Mrs. Cooper was in the habit of supporting the paper on which she wrote by her hand, instead of using either a desk or table.

mentioned, with high commendation, in one of her prefaces, by Mrs. Brooke, an author well known in her time for some interesting novels, particularly *Emily Montague.* The great object of this last work was the conversion of a beloved son from infidelity, and to convince him of the great truths and inestimable blessings of Christianity. By this work was my beloved mother most known to the world, and it had a very extensive sale. It was published by Becket, of Pall Mall.

"You will observe, that the tendency of all my dear mother's publications was to exemplify the female character in the several stations of life, the duties of which, whether as daughter, wife, or mother, she faithfully fulfilled in her progress through time to eternity.

"On her death, she left in my hands corrected copies of her compositions, which she earnestly requested me to publish after her decease. This dying request I promised to execute, and fulfilled that promise by publishing them in a short time after her departure from the world. *The Wife, or Caroline Herbert,* had been much altered and added to after its first publication, and *I* made additional alterations in it before it was republished. The other works, particularly *The Exemplary Mother,* were given to the world with very slight corrections, and had all a ready sale. She likewise published in verse a *Letter supposed to have been addressed by Jane Shore to her Friend,* which Mr. Edward Jerningham, brother of Sir William, of Costessy Hall,

Norfolk, and uncle of the present Lord Stafford, himself a poet, advised her to give to the public. I know not that I can add anything to the list of her literary compositions, or to their several merits. Her character shone through them all as illuminated by the Spirit from above, &c."

It will not be out of place, perhaps, to mention here a very flattering eulogium I heard passed upon the mother of Sir Astley Cooper, by one of the most eminently learned as well as upright men of the preceding century, the celebrated Dr. Parr. I was one day dining in his company at the house of Mr. ——, together with his royal highness the Duke of ——, Dr. ——, Mr. ——, and Sir —— ——, when in the course of the evening, Dr. Parr, speaking of his intimacy with my grandfather, mentioned that he had read a poem written by Dr. Cooper, in imitation of Cowper's *Task*, not very remarkable in his estimation for its poetical merits; and he proceeded in his peculiar, pompous manner, to say, "And, Sir, I wrote an epigram upon it, which was this:

> To Cowper's *Task* see Cooper's *Task* succeed,
> That was a task to write, but this, to read.

"And, Sir," he continued with considerable animation, "I knew your grandmother, and in the retrospection of that intimacy, I have more satisfaction than has been afforded me by my acquaintance with any of the sex since."

I have already said so much regarding the vir-

tues of this excellent lady, who, among her own associates, appears to have been so pre-eminent in lustre, and who now shines with a double brightness, that reflected from her distinguished son being added to her own, that if I say more I fear I shall be thought guilty of exaggeration in the account. I will add, therefore, but one other remark concerning her, extracted from Mr. Crompton's edition of the Letters of the late Lord Chedworth, and that, rather to substantiate what has been already said, than because it throws any further light on her character. His lordship in one of his letters says, "Of Mrs. Cooper, I shall always think with respect as a truly good woman, &c.," and to this the following note is appended:—

"From the terms in which I am ever inclined to speak of the Coopers, it may be thought by some that I have conceived the existence of a family of 'faultless monsters.' But, however this may be, I am quite sure that no one who knew Mrs. Cooper will withhold belief to my assertion, that she was one of the best of women; assuredly the very best that I have ever known."

We shall now proceed to give a slight sketch of the brothers and sisters of Sir Astley Cooper.

The first and now only surviving child of Dr. and Mrs. Cooper, is Robert Bransby, who was born at Shotisham, in 1762, on the 21st of February; during the period at which Dr. and Mrs. Cooper were residing with Mr. Bransby, the father of Mrs.

Cooper. He was educated at home, and seemed to have imbibed very much of the character of his mother; always evincing a great attention to his religious duties, and now, after a long life, is still remarkable for his highly moral and religious character. He ever acknowledges with deep gratitude, that the principles which have formed the rule of his conduct through life, as well as the education of his early years, were wholly obtained from his excellent and pious mother. On leaving home, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and became a pupil of Dr. Vince, mathematical professor, a very estimable man, who owed his collegiate education to the bounty of Dr. Cooper. The period for his stay at the university being completed, he was entered at Lincoln's Inn, where, for some time, he studied the elements of jurisprudence, and qualified himself for the bar. He did not, however, proceed to join the circuit. He subsequently married Miss Purnell, the only daughter of William Purnell, Esq., of Ferney Hill, in Gloucestershire, and by this union had a family of six children, the eldest of whom has assumed the maternal name, and now resides on the family estate at Stancombe Park, near Dursley.

Mr. Bransby Cooper is in the commission of the peace and lieutenancy for the county of Norfolk as well as Gloucestershire, and in the latter county is now the oldest surviving magistrate.

In the year 1816, Mr. Cooper was selected as a candidate for the representation of the city of Gloucester; but, after a severe and unequal contest,

was defeated. His antagonist at that time was Colonel Webb, brother-in-law to Sir William Green, Bart., M. P. for the county.

In the year 1818, he was again canvassed to offer himself for Gloucester, to which requisition he somewhat reluctantly acceded, and, after a very severe contest, was triumphantly returned. To the honour of the party who supported him on this occasion, he was placed at the head of the poll without incurring any personal electioneering expense; and what is not a little remarkable, so great was the enthusiasm and energy of the supporters of Mr. Cooper, that, of 1703 voters who polled, more than 800 plumped for the successful candidate. His opponents on this occasion were Colonel Webb, and Captain Berkeley, brother to Lord Segrave.

By this election, Mr. Cooper's seat in Parliament was established for some years, and he became one of its most active members.

In 1829, though a personal friend of Sir Robert Peel, he made a very decided stand against the Emancipation Bill, and delivered, on that occasion, a speech memorable for its Protestant tone and constitutional spirit; which was so much approved by the friends of the party, that it was printed and circulated, in various shapes, without the direction or knowledge of Mr. Cooper or his connexions.

In 1830, at the time of the excitement on the question of Parliamentary Reform, Mr. Cooper's principles not permitting him to yield to the popular feeling, he was obliged, after a violent contest

although nobly supported by his friends, to retire from Parliament.

Mr. Cooper represented the city of Gloucester for a period of twelve years, and during that time, even among his political opponents, he was respected for the conscientious discharge of his public duties, and his steady adherence to that line of conduct which he deemed most conducive to the welfare of his country.

Since that period, Mr. Cooper has been usefully engaged at Cheltenham, in his capacity as magistrate, where he filled the judicial chair for eight years. He now resides at Gloucester, and though much advanced in age, still participates in the fatigues of public business with all the energy of a much more youthful time of life.

Mr. Cooper has written several works, some of which have been given to the public.

Political Essays, though published anonymously in 1800, passed through three editions.

A *Dispassionate Discussion on the Objects of the Bible Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, appeared in 1814.

A *Letter to a Clergyman on the particular Tenets of the present Day*, (in 1824.) This publication was well received, and has passed through three editions.

Subsequently was published a *Vindication* of the above Letter, in answer to objectors.

Next, a *Translation of Mede on the Apocalypse*; and, lastly,

An *Interpretation of the Revelation of St. John.*

These several treatises, which are chiefly intended to inculcate and enforce the necessity of social order, the duty of religious unity, and the principles of an uniform system of national faith, have been generally well received and estimated by the public.

Samuel Lovick Cooper, the second son of Dr. and Mrs. Cooper, was born on the 4th of February, 1763, at Shotisham, in which village he lived for the first four years of his life, and then with his parents went to reside at Brooke Hall. One of the first circumstances recorded of his early years is rendered important, from the great danger to which it exposed the life of his brother Astley, the subject of these Memoirs. They were playing together in the Hall, at Brook, when Astley accidentally ran against Lovick, who at the time was holding in his hand an open knife. The blade entered the lower part of Astley's cheek, passed upwards, and was stopped only by the socket of the eye. The wound bled profusely, and Mr. Fulcher, the surgeon of Shotisham, was instantly sent for, and remained in attendance upon him, so severe was the injury, for some weeks. The wound, however, at last healed; but Sir Astley carried with him to the grave a scar which it left. This accident did not occur from any violence of temper on the part of my father, who was always remarkable for his sweetness of disposition and mild conduct, not only as a boy, but up to the period of his death.

Lovick was educated at home, and, although he

was not very studious, acquired knowledge readily, and not only retained it, but had also the happy gift of applying it with facility. He was always a great favourite at home, and equally in requisition to assist in the occupations of his sisters, or to enter into the more boisterous amusements of his brothers. He differed in disposition, both from his elder brother, Bransby, and his younger brother, Astley, being less sedate than the former, less riotous than the latter: his brother Bransby was, however, his more frequent companion. Lovick studied under the superintendence of his father for classics, and under Mr. Larke of Brook, for mathematics, with both of whom he made very fair progress; but I have heard my father frequently regret that he had not been educated at school, maintaining that it was impossible for a boy at home to make equal progress with one at school, in consequence of the many interruptions to which he is necessarily exposed.

Lovick was considered to be the handsomest of the family. Although not possessing the animation and fire of Astley, he was not at all inferior to him in regularity of feature and proportion of frame, and even surpassed him in that soft sweetness of expression which never fails to captivate the heart, although by a more slow and stealthy progress than the bolder and more instantly prepossessing appearance, which distinguished his brother Astley. Their elder brother Bransby was not equal to either of his brothers in expression of countenance, although in figure and manly deportment he was inferior to

neither. At seventeen, Lovick was entered at Magdalen College, Cambridge, where, I believe, he was not very studious for academical honours:—always wanting the industry necessary for their attainment. Even those who loved him best must acknowledge that indolence was his great failing, and must regret that through life "he kept on the even tenor of his way," without ever endeavouring to raise himself to that eminence to which his talents would otherwise have elevated him.

Kind, friendly, and benevolent, he was doated on by his family, and beloved by all his acquaintance. The excellence of his judgment was universally admitted; and this, together with his perfect integrity, caused him to be frequently chosen, as well by his parishioners as his own family, the arbitrator and adviser in all matters which required judgment and consideration. As a parent he was, perhaps, too indulgent, and although he closely watched any deviation from right in the conduct of his children, he could never bear to punish, but always attempted by kindness alone to bring the delinquent back to propriety. As a clergyman, my father was respected and beloved, and although he was never so zealous as to be what would now be considered an active divine, yet his general conduct was peculiarly adapted to excite and cherish a spirit of real devotion, whilst the simplicity yet elegance of his diction invariably secured to him a large congregation, in the chapel of ease to the church at Yarmouth, in which he did duty for many years. His voice was beau-

tifully harmonious, and naturally very powerful; and he acquired so high a reputation as a preacher, that he was frequently applied to by the bishop to preach in the cathedral at Norwich, and by neighbouring clergymen to do duty in their churches on charitable occasions.

In later years, the affection which existed between my father and uncle Astley was of the strongest character, and at a stated period, which was always looked forward to with much interest by both, every year until his decease, my father spent five or six weeks in his brother's house in town. This visit was a source of great gratification to both; for while my father felt a pride in his brother's distinction, and a deep regard for his worth, Sir Astley equally enjoyed the society of his brother, and the quiet, dry humour which characterized his conversation. Often have I seen my dear uncle convulsed with laughter at some anecdote or story of my poor father's, whose countenance at the same time was unruffled even by a smile. A source of much of my father's comfort on the occasion of these visits, was the perfect liberty he enjoyed, of passing his time as pleased him best:—the consideration of his brother allowing him to be as perfectly master of his own arrangements, as if he were in his own house at Yarmouth. It was during one of these visits, that my poor father was seized with water in the chest, which disease terminated fatally, on June 3rd, 1817, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. The death of my uncle, which I so lately witnessed,

very forcibly recalled to my memory the last moments of my poor father, who died in my arms in New Street.

I cannot let this opportunity pass, without mentioning a subject of regret which has long dwelt and still remains heavy on my mind—that one name of our family only should appear upon the monument in memory of my beloved father in the chapel in Yarmouth. My second brother inconsiderately, and without consulting his brothers and sisters, erected this tribute to his memory, and, by attaching only his own name, may have thus led the world to believe that he alone duly appreciated the merits of our beloved father.

My father was married at Yarmouth on the 29th of November, 1787, to Sarah Leman Rede, the second daughter of Thomas Rede, Esq., whose family for some centuries had resided in the neighbourhood of Beccles. The estate and manors of Ashmans are now the property of my brother Robert, who has adopted the family name of Rede*. My mother, at the period of her marriage, has been described as being,—and my recollection warrants such a description—one of the beauties of the county, and, from the vivacity of her countenance, together with the brilliancy of her wit, as the life and soul of the society in which she moved; thus exhibiting a turn of mind singularly opposite to the retiring,

* For a more detailed account of the family and estates, see NEALE'S *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in Great Britain.*

quiet, and somewhat sedate disposition of my father. But notwithstanding this difference of character, she was in no way second to him as a fond and tender parent; indeed, with much more activity of mind, and having no thought but for the benefit of her children, on her did the whole arrangement of the family devolve. There was not a single duty towards her children that she ever avoided; and, notwithstanding her vivacity and love of society, she would never allow pleasure to interfere with her domestic duties. Her generosity and liberality to her children amounted almost to lavish extravagance; for she would not hesitate to expend a large sum for a child for the purpose of satisfying some perhaps fanciful desire, while at the same time she was denying to herself such gratifications as by the world are usually considered necessary for a lady in her station of life. Indeed, her affection was so enthusiastic, so romantic, that it sufficiently indicated the absence of that prudence which it is for the benefit of all should always regulate our feelings. Still, her children can never cease to regard the love which often screened them from the punishment due to their failings with any other feelings than those of the warmest affection and gratitude.

Her mental faculties were of a high order; but judgment had scarcely a sufficient control over her powers of wit and sarcasm to render her always agreeable to those against whom she was directing her raillery. She was therefore frequently rendered

an object of fear to any who made themselves obnoxious to her displeasure, as well as to those who, on account of any failings or peculiarities, formed good marks for the arrows of her wit. The sharpness of her repartees, and the eccentricity of her expressions and similes, were a source of considerable amusement to Sir Astley; and when she was visiting him, he would frequently invite to his house for an evening some one distinguished for similar qualities, and having contrived to excite a spirit of rivalry between them, would exhibit the most marked delight in watching the effects of the contest which would ensue, but which generally terminated in favour of my mother. After my father's death, and all their children were settled in life, my mother felt herself deprived in Yarmouth of every solace, and therefore came to London to be near her children. Here my poor mother did not long live to enjoy the comfort she had anticipated, but died, after a short illness, on the 13th of March, 1823.

The next son was William Houman, who was born on the 4th of September, 1764, at Shotisham. There are but few circumstances connected with the life of my uncle William of sufficient interest to be recorded. He was always of a weak constitution, and his mind rendered proportionably inactive, so that he long remained in early life under the especial care and protection of his mother, and was allowed but little either to think or act for himself. It seemed early to be determined that he

should not be brought up to any profession, and he therefore had no other pursuit beyond that of his own amusement. In about 1800 he entered the volunteer corps at Yarmouth, and I can now remember his rather grotesque appearance in regimentals; for he was remarkably thin, and yet fully equalled his brothers in height. He had a peculiar facility as a caricaturist, and would sometimes excite the chagrin of his brothers Lovick and Astley, by a successful but ludicrous sketch of some peculiarity in their gait or dress, for which Astley generally paid him off by a retort not always quite courteous. He lived to be seventy years of age, and died in Gloucestershire, at his brother Bransby's residence.

We have already, in speaking of Mrs. Cooper, alluded to the untimely decease of her daughter Charlotte Maria. This young lady was born on the 18th of September, 1765, and was the eldest of the female portion of Mrs. Cooper's family. Whether from the particular attention and care which, from the earliest period, was devoted to her education, or that she silently imbibed that spirit of gentleness which so eminently characterized the excellent example constantly before her, or whether from the sweetness of her own natural disposition,—certain it is, that in the daughter all the pious principles and amiable qualities of the parent re-appeared in undiminished vigour. Under the guidance and tuition of Mrs. Cooper, she grew up no less distinguished in all the minor ornaments which give a

lustre to the female character—the graceful ease and elegant proportions of her form, the sweet expression of her countenance, and the feminine gentleness of her address—than in the higher characteristics of a benevolent heart and an exalted understanding. By one of her friends, who anonymously published after her decease a sketch of her character, Miss Cooper has been described as being endowed with the softest sensibility, yet without any tincture of weakness; with an uncommon quickness of penetration and solidity of judgment, joined with the most engaging candour; with a most lively imagination, but combined with unusual force of understanding, and a disposition ever ready charitably to throw a veil over those weaknesses in others which, on account of her acute discernment, she could not but perceive. But, with the existence of these qualities which so eminently fitted her for the discharge of all the varied offices of life, there had been for a long time anxiously suspected by her friends the presence of that destroyer—consumption, a disease which was destined to commit such havoc in the family of Mrs. Cooper. These suspicions were fearfully confirmed at the period when she was about to have bestowed her hand on a clergyman who had some time won her affection, and who appears to have been in every respect worthy of so inestimable a prize. A few months after that she had entered her twenty-first year, on the 31st of January, 1786, in spite of the united efforts of her tenderly attached relations and affec-

tionate companions, she sank—a victim to the influence of the disease.

I cannot better conclude this brief notice of the above estimable lady, than by a stanza from an elegy written soon after her decease, by her eldest brother, Mr. Bransby Cooper:—

> Her soul was spotless as the snow untrod,
> Her form the purest transcript of her mind:
> She lived, she died, devoted to her God,
> In life obedient, and in death resign'd.

On the death of her beloved Charlotte, Mrs. Cooper naturally turned from her bereavement with increased affection towards her who had now become her eldest daughter, Marianne; but the same irresistible disease that had destroyed the sister, had already fixed its hold on her, and she thus became, instead of consolation, a source of fresh disappointment to the already severely afflicted parent. This daughter was the last of the children born while Dr. and Mrs. Cooper resided at Shotisham. In the year 1787, about eighteen months after her sister's decease, Marianne was married to a gentleman of most amiable disposition and refined manners, the Rev. Christopher Spurgeon, rector of Harpley and Bircham, in Norfolk. With him she passed nearly two years of happiness, as complete as the society of two beings, each devoted to the other's interest and welfare, can produce; when all their plans of future life and prospects of continued enjoyment were blighted by the visible presence of the disease, which had long been, canker-like,

consuming her tender frame. She fell a victim to consumption, in the year 1789.

I hardly think it necessary to apologize on presenting my readers with another of Mrs. Cooper's letters, written to her son Astley shortly before this trying event. Independent of the interest which must always belong to letters in which such touching simplicity of expression and exquisitely tender feeling are found as in these, they give the reader the most perfect view which he can have of the domestic habits of Sir Astley Cooper's family at this period, and in the best manner supply the deficiency of letters from Sir Astley himself, who from earliest years had a singular antipathy, which he maintained to the latest periods of his life, to corresponding on any matters, unless professional. But to the philosopher, to him who would watch not merely the full-formed character of Sir Astley Cooper, but also its developement, I think they must have a still higher importance even than this; for when we reflect on the situation of Astley Cooper at the period when these events occurred—free from restraint, living in a house where but little regard was shown even to the formalities of religion,—his time fully occupied in the pursuit of science—we cannot but conclude that these letters from his mother, so feelingly descriptive of their mutual losses and bereavements, must have formed at least an essential portion, if not the whole of his moral culture at that time. That they were not altogether neglected or lightly esteemed by him is

proved by the care with which they have been preserved.

The reader will readily perceive that the letter is written but a few days previous to the death, which it anticipates, of her beloved daughter. It is addressed to "Mr. Astley Cooper, No. 12, St. Mary Axe, London."

"I should have written to my dearest Astley immediately after his beloved sister's arrival, but that I wished to see how she was after a few days had passed, and she was settled in the house Mr. Spurgeon took for her, which has bay-windows opening on the sea. Our house and family were too noisy and bustling for her. Dear creature! she bore the journey astonishingly well. She came as far as Dereham the first night, and was in good spirits. The next day she got to Norwich, which she found so noisy that she set off the following morning for Yarmouth, with hired horses part of the way, and their own from Acle, and was on the road only two hours and twelve minutes. Her fatigue was less than we could expect, and she was quite delighted on finding herself among us. The second day, however, after her arrival, whether somewhat in consequence of the journey, and somewhat Mr. Smith the surgeon's unfavourable opinion of the state of her feet, and his prognosticks too unguardedly imparted, and which surely had better have been suppressed, her spirits became exceedingly low, and she had not recovered them when she went into

her lodgings, on Monday. Yesterday and this day she was in better spirits, and has had more appetite than since she came to Yarmouth; but, alas! my dear son, I fear there is little reason to expect her long continuance with us. Let me hear from you, and when it suits your convenience we shall rejoice to see you. Tell me when you think you shall be able to come.

"*Saturday evening.*

"Your dear sister is so extremely weak that she herself thinks that she shall not continue long in this life. Sweet soul! we had such a conference this evening as has left my mind in a state of blessed thankfulness for such a child, but with apprehension of her loss. She blessed God for the happy serenity of mind she enjoyed. She said, she found herself grown so extremely weak that it was not possible she should live long, that she was perfectly resigned to death, and only prayed, and wished all her friends to pray, that she might not suffer much more pain. She blessed God, and said, she considered her illness as a merciful dispensation; for though she hoped she had never committed any great offences, yet perhaps she had been inattentive to the duties of religion. If it pleased God to spare her life, no one, she said, had a happier prospect; for she had the best of husbands, and a comfortable share of temporal enjoyments; but she was resigned to the will of heaven. She felt for Mr. Spurgeon: her loss would sit heavy on him, and, indeed, she did not think he would ever recover his spirits: she

dared not mention to him her opinion of her own state. O, my dearest Astley, what a most excellent young creature! My heart is agitated with fears of losing her, and yet rejoices in the anticipated heaven she now enjoys. She wishes very much to see you soon, and if you can come, you will gratify us all. Your brother and sister Bransby are this evening arrived, and very well, but very much shocked at the state of their dear, dear sister. They join us in most affectionate regards to you—mine to my beloved Miss Cock. She will feel for me, and for us all. May you be able to be with us soon!

"God bless you! Believe me to be

"Your ever tenderly affectionate Mother,

"M. S. COOPER."

Of the other three daughters of Mrs. Cooper, of whom we have not as yet made mention, the first two, Anna Maria and Margaret Bransby, were born in succession after their brother Astley, but both died very young, and but little is recorded of them. The remaining daughter, and last child, Anna Maria Inyon, like her sisters, sunk in consumption, and thus completed the list of its victims in the female portion of Mrs. Cooper's family.

Mrs. Cooper lived to see one more of her children fall a sacrifice to the disease which had now taken from her all her daughters. This was the last born of her sons, Beauchamp Newton. He was a captain in militia, and, in 1798, married Miss

Adams, by whom he had two children—Matilda, and a posthumous son, Charles Beauchamp, born soon after the decease of his father. The allusions to this son and his affectionate wife, in Mrs. Cooper's letters, are written in terms expressive of the same maternal attachment, as that which she has exhibited towards her other children in the letters already quoted. He appears in character to have very closely resembled the mild and retiring Lovick. In one of her letters, having just spoken of his brother Astley, Mrs. Cooper thus writes:—"Beauchamp has a very similar sweetness of temper, a feeling heart, a docile mind, and a desire of improvement." He had been for some time slowly wasting under the influence of consumption, when one day, while taking some exercise in the open air, he burst a blood-vessel, the effect of which soon put a termination to his life. This event occurred A.D. 1802. My cousin Beauchamp is the present incumbent of the living of Morley, which he inherited from his father, who had received the advowson from Dr. Cooper.

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH OF SIR ASTLEY COOPER. IS NURSED BY A FOSTER-MOTHER. PARENTAL EDUCATION. HIS CHARACTER WHILE UNDER THE TUITION OF MR. LARKE, OF BROOKE. HIS BOYISH ENTERPRISE AND CONTEMPT OF DANGER. ANECDOTES. ACCIDENT ON WELBECK COMMON. MR. SHERRINGTON'S RECOLLECTIONS OF SIR ASTLEY COOPER AT SCHOOL. BOYISH ADVENTURES. FATAL INJURY TO ASTLEY COOPER'S FOSTER-BROTHER. ASTLEY COOPER'S SINGULAR PRESENCE OF MIND. THE INFLUENCE OF THIS OCCURRENCE ON SIR ASTLEY COOPER. HE LEAVES BROOKE.

HAVING thus given a brief account of the members of the family more immediately interesting in their relationship to the subject of these Memoirs, we now proceed to the consideration of his own eventful history. It has been already stated that Astley Paston Cooper was the fourth son of Dr. and Mrs. Cooper, and that he was the first of their children born at Brooke. His birthday was the 23rd of August, 1768, and he was baptized, as appears by the parish register, on the 9th day of the following month. His godfather was Sir Edward Astley, at that time member for the county, the grandfather of Sir Jacob Astley, now Lord Hastings. Mrs. Cooper, whilst pregnant with him, experienced more suffering than with any other of her previous children, or than she did with any of those born after him.

After a few days, in accordance with the custom

which at this time prevailed among the more respectable Norfolk families, of sending their children to be nursed away from home, (a practice which Sir Astley Cooper afterwards reprobated in a most marked manner*,) the infant Astley was placed under the care of Mrs. Love, the wife of a substantial farmer, one of Dr. Cooper's parishioners.

* The following remarks, extracted from the latest of Sir Astley Cooper's publications, will exemplify his opinions on this subject; and as they are of so excellent a tendency, and not otherwise likely to meet the eye of my unprofessional readers, I have thought it proper to insert them here. After some professional observations, he says:—"If a woman be healthy, and she has milk in her breast, there can be no question of the propriety of her giving suck. If such a question be put, the answer should be, that all animals, even those of the most ferocious character, show affection for their young,—do not forsake them, but yield them their milk,—do not neglect, but nurse and watch over them; and shall woman, the loveliest of Nature's creatures, possessed of reason as well as instinct, refuse that nourishment to her offspring which no other animal withholds, and hesitate to perform that duty which all of the Mammalia class invariably discharge? Besides, it may be truly said, that nursing the infant is most beneficial both to the mother and the child, and that women who have been previously delicate, often become strong and healthy while they suckle.

* * * * * * * * * *

"A female of luxury and refinement is often in this respect a worse mother than the inhabitant of the meanest hovel, who nurses her children, and brings them up healthy under privations and bodily exertions to obtain subsistence, which might almost excuse her refusal.

"The frequent sight of the child, watching it at the breast, the repeated calls for attention, the dawn of each attack of disease, and the cause of its little cries are constantly begetting

It is not improbable that Mrs. Cooper's state of health, in some measure, influenced her in this circumstance, as she does not appear to have allowed this fashion to divert her from the natural course in respect to the nurture of her other children. The fact, however, of his being placed with Mrs. Love is interesting, from an important circumstance which subsequently occurred to Astley Cooper, in connexion with a son of this person, and which will be hereafter noticed.

The precise period at which he left his foster-mother is not known, but it is probable that he returned to his father's house, Brooke Hall, when he no longer required the constant attendance of a nurse. As soon as he was of an age to receive instruction, Mrs. Cooper, according to the plan which she voluntarily adopted with all her children, began sedulously to implant in her son the rudiments of education, and principles of religion,—a task which the qualities we have already described as distinguishing her character—her own religious habits, her excellent disposition and superior talents —rendered her so eminently fitted to undertake. Notwithstanding her literary pursuits (all her works

feelings of affection, which a mother who does not suckle seldom feels in an equal degree, when she allows the care of her child to devolve upon another, and suffers her maternal feelings to give place to indolence or caprice, on the empty calls of a fashionable and luxurious life."

Sir Astley having thus stated the advantages of nursing to the mother, proceeds to describe the multitude of advantages accruing to the child from the same source.

having been produced at periods subsequent to her marriage,) and numerous domestic engagements, Mrs. Cooper contrived to devote a considerable period of her time to her son Astley, in common with his brothers and sisters, and from her he derived all his knowledge of English grammar and history, for the latter of which studies he ever retained a fondness; while from the tuition of his father he obtained an ordinary acquaintance with the Latin and Greek classics. The information which he acquired, under his father's superintendence, seems to have been sufficient to enable him to read Horace in the one and the New Testament in the other; but at no after period of his life was the amount of his classical knowledge such as to induce him to peruse the works generally read by the more advanced in such pursuits: the gratification which they are capable of affording to the polished scholar, being to him more than counterbalanced by the drudgery he had to encounter in arriving at the interpretation. It is probable, however, that he obtained a good insight into the construction of these languages, so far as his reading permitted, for Dr. Cooper was a strict disciplinarian, directed much of his pupil's attention to the rules of grammar and diction, and was himself, as exhibited in the honours which he gained at Cambridge, a scholar of no ordinary attainments.

Astley's only other preceptor at this period was Mr. Larke, the master of the village school, and father of Mr. C. Larke, who is now residing at Brooke, and

actively engaged in the duties of medical practice. Mr. Larke was in the habit of attending at the Hall to instruct Dr. Cooper's family in writing, ciphering, and mathematics, and among all his pupils, there does not appear to have been one, who, by progress in these studies, did him less credit than the young Astley. Indeed, he does not seem to have made any advancement whatever in the science of mathematics, a tolerable knowledge of which his brothers, prior to their leaving home for college, obtained from Mr. Larke; but it must be remembered, that this gentleman's preceptorship ceased when Dr. Cooper left Brooke, at which period Astley was not yet thirteen years of age. Mr. Larke, too, although otherwise well qualified for the duties of his situation, appears to have failed in impressing his young pupil with a proper degree of reverence for himself; and Sir Astley, in after life, has not unfrequently mentioned that Mr. Larke was the subject of an infirmity which rendered him easily manageable by those who were aware of the circumstance. This was such an unusual degree of nervous susceptibility, that when he received a slight blow, or was merely touched suddenly, on the pit of his stomach, he was for a time deprived of the power of respiration—a circumstance, of which it would appear his refractory scholar did not omit to avail himself on certain occasions*. In addition to these circumstances, Astley Cooper was

* It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that Mr. Larke died of disease in the stomach.

at this time remarkable for displaying anything but assiduity and attention to study of any sort, although he occasionally exhibited traces of an unusually quick perception and superior intellectual powers. But the volatility of his disposition, the constant buoyancy of his spirits, seconded by a constitution teeming with health and strength, rendered the confinement necessarily attendant on study peculiarly irksome to him, and induced him, whenever an opportunity occurred of escaping from the vigilance of his teachers, to join in whatever sports were going forward in the neighbourhood, and, indeed, led him into a variety of pranks, which were continually creating alarm in the minds of his parents, and occasionally, though not often, brought upon him their displeasure. For any of his friends to be angry with Astley Cooper was a thing of rare occurrence, and seldom of any other than of temporary duration: for he possessed qualities, which, while they gave him a happy facility of disarming ill will, procured him the regard and affection of all his associates, and of every visitor at the Hall, more particularly of the female portion, with whom he was always an especial favourite, and who were ever ready to be advocates on his behalf. This influence was attributable to a peculiarly animated and ever cheerful countenance, to a frank and open temper, generous disposition, and an easy deportment: but, perhaps, more than on any other account, to his bold and spirited courage, which rendered him conspicuous not only above the members of his own

family, but far above all his young companions in the neighbourhood.

The hazardous adventures in which he was engaged, and the daring freaks which he played, while living under the domestic roof at Brooke, were many of them so remarkable as never to have been effaced from the memory of those who were engaged in them as colleagues or merely as spectators; and he himself, to the latest period of his life, like the old soldier "fighting his early battles o'er again," would often revert to, and describe the droll and mischievous feats of his childhood, the strongest impressions of which he retained through life, apparently with no less amusement to himself at the recollection, than to his hearers from the description. It is to the preservation of these anecdotes, that we are indebted for an acquaintance with the early days of Sir Astley Cooper very much more full than is usually obtained of eminent men:—to an extent, indeed, which is not a little remarkable, when we remember that he was one of a numerous family, and without any extraordinary development of any peculiar talent. And although by some they may be looked upon as merely the acts of a careless headstrong child, and unworthy of notice in a life so signalized as that of Sir Astley Cooper, they, nevertheless, to those who delight to trace the character of the *man* in the *boy*, possess an abundant share of interest.

Who can say that the admiration and applause the young Astley Cooper obtained from his fellows

for the intrepidity displayed by him in these youthful exploits, were not in truth the elements of that love of superiority and thirst for fame, which prevented him ever afterwards being contented with any but the highest rank in every undertaking with which he associated himself? Certain it is, that even at this early period, in every boyish enterprise of danger, Astley Cooper was unanimously fixed upon to hold that position, which he afterwards maintained when his colleagues and competitors were men—not unlike the account given by Xenophon of Cyrus, whom, when a boy in an obscure village, he represents as rendering himself so distinguished among his rustic companions as to be by common consent elected king in their juvenile diversions. If orchards were to be robbed, or gardens plundered, Cooper was the general to whom was entrusted the arrangement of the attack and the division of the spoil: if horses were to be tamed, he was the Diomed who took in hand the management of their subjection. So fearless was he in undertakings of this sort, that he has been known to ride without a bridle, guiding them only with a stick, horses which others, though properly equipped, dared scarcely to mount. Not unfrequently he might be seen driving out of a field the neighbouring farmer's cows, mounted upon the back of the bull; sometimes running along the eaves of barns of great height*; and, in short, in any under-

* A lofty barn, with a double-inclined roof, still stands near the church at Brooke, from the top of which, I was lately

taking that occurred to him offering unusual risk in its accomplishment, he appears to have at once engaged, with apparently the most utter recklessness of consequences. This adventurous disposition brought on him not only the inconvenience of having to bear the brunt of the accusation of every mischievous transaction that occurred in the village, of which the author was unknown—and of course now and then undeservedly; but occasionally led to results of a much more serious character, very often, indeed, to circumstances involving his very existence in imminent hazard.

The following anecdotes have been communicated to me by his elder brother, Mr. Bransby Cooper. "Having climbed one day to the roof of one of the aisles of Brooke church, he lost his hold, and was precipitated to the ground, but, providentially, escaped with only a few bruises. He was always fond of playing with donkeys, or *dickeys*, as they are called in Norfolk, and provoking them till they kicked him; and he bore many marks for some time of their violence. One day when he was riding a horse, which he had caught on Welbeck Common, near the house, he directed the animal with his whip to leap over a cow which was lying on the ground; but the

informed by the vicar, Mr. Castell, Astley Cooper fell one day, when they were boys together, fortunately for himself, among some hay in the stable-yard below. The height of the barn is so great, that had he fallen into the church-yard, which bounds it on the opposite side, he would in all probability have been severely injured.

cow rose at the instant, and overthrew both the horse and its rider, who had his collar-bone broken in the fall."

"Astley and I were one day together on the top of a hayrick, assisting the men in trampling down the hay, when we amused ourselves by a game which is very common in Norfolk, but, I believe, peculiar to that county. The manner of playing at the game is the following: one of the party lies down on his back, generally on a stack of hay, with his hands open and stretched behind his head, his feet and legs at the same time being bent at right angles to his body, and directed upwards. The other then takes his stand upon the hands of the former, while he balances his body upon the feet of his recumbent companion. The object is, for the boy lying beneath, by a simultaneous extension of his arms and legs, to project his poised playmate to a certain spot, which, when the boy below is strong, and the feat well performed, may be to a distance at first hardly credible. In the instance now alluded to, I, who was lying on the stack, in projecting Astley, overshot my mark, and he fell over the edge of the stack on to the stone yard below, and sustained some severe bruises, from which however he soon recovered." Mr. Cooper thus concludes his account of his brother Astley at this period: "He was a great plague to his elder brothers, particularly William, whose articles of clothing, &c., he was perpetually appropriating to himself."

Fortunately, however, the diversions of Astley Cooper at this period were not all attended with similar serious results; they are, however, sufficiently eccentric and interesting to warrant their appearance in these Memoirs. The following, which have been kindly communicated to me by an old Brooke companion of Astley Cooper, Mr. Samuel Sherrington, are so curious, and so graphically described, that it would be an injustice to my readers to give them in any other than that gentleman's own words.

"In the year 1782, I was a boarder in a school at the village of Brooke, in Norfolk, conducted by a Mr. Brigham. The Rev. Doctor Cooper, Sir Astley's father, was at that time living in the manor-house of Brooke, and the late Sir Astley, then Master Astley Cooper, lived at his father's house. The commencement of my knowledge with Master Astley Cooper was as follows: one afternoon the bell to summon the scholars to their duties had rung, and I, together with the rest, was hastening to the school-room, when some boy snatched one of the scholar's hats from off his head, and threw it into one of the 'meres,' or ponds of water, which are situate in the village, and by which we were passing. The boy, lamenting the loss of his hat, and fearing he should be punished for his absence from the school, was crying very bitterly, when there came to the spot a young gentleman, dressed, as was then the fashion of the

day, in a scarlet coat, a three-cocked hat, a glazed black collar or stock, nankeen small clothes, and white silk stockings—his hair hanging in ringlets down his back. He seeing the boy crying, and being informed of the cause of his sorrow, deliberately marched into the water, obtained the hat, and returned it to the unlucky owner. You may imagine his appearance when he came from the pond, he having been immersed in mud and water much above his knees. This young gentleman was no other than Master Astley Cooper, who had just returned from a dancing school, held at the King's Head (an inn in the village) by some teacher from the neighbouring city of Norwich. I had some conversation with him at the time, and from that period he seemed to have taken a fancy to me, and selected me as a companion. We were both of us frolicksome, mischievous boys, and played many pranks together in the village. I was a great favourite with the usher of my school, and Master Astley frequently prevailed on him to let me accompany him for an evening's ramble."

Mr. Sherrington next relates an adventure in which they were engaged against a tailor in the village, to whom Astley owed a slight grudge. In the detail, however, of the principal event,—an attack upon the poor man's windows,—there is nothing worthy of publication, nor characteristic of my uncle, excepting another proof of the natural kindness of his disposition, from his having subse-

quently, of his own accord, called on the tailor, and remunerated him for the fright and injury to which he had been subjected.

Mr. Sherrington thus proceeds in his narration: —"A very laughable occurrence afterwards took place betwixt Master Astley and a Mr. ——, who had an imbecile wife, and was, consequently, obliged to manage his domestic affairs himself. It came to the ears of Master Astley that this gentleman was much inclined to take unbecoming liberties with his maid servants, and resolving to ascertain the truth of this report, on hearing that Mr. —— had a vacancy in his establishment for a maid servant, Master Astley took the resolution of disguising himself as one, and applying for the situation. For this purpose he borrowed a dress of one of the servants in the doctor's house, and, accoutred in her habiliments, proceeded, in the dusk of the evening, to Mr. ——'s house. Arrived, he was introduced to Mr. ——, who, pleased with the appearance of the supposed maid servant, engaged *her* for the vacant situation, and, indeed, was apparently so pleased with *her*, that he accompanied *her* part of the way home, holding a conversation till they arrived at a stile where they were to part. Previously to this taking place, however, Mr. —— endeavoured to impress a kiss on the lips of his supposed fair companion, when Master Astley suddenly discovered himself, and said, 'Now, Mr. ——, I have often heard you were fond of the maids, but I am Astley Cooper;' and then bidding

him good night, said, 'I shall say nothing about it to the doctor.'"

This is the latest of the adventures of Astley Cooper, at his native village, recorded by Mr. Sherrington, and appears to have occurred about the time when Dr. Cooper was presented with the living of Great Yarmouth, and therefore not long previous to the departure of Astley, together with the rest of his father's family, from Brooke. Before, however, this event took place, though the particular period is not known, an incident occurred, no less remarkable in itself, than important in its result to the principal agent in the transaction—Astley Cooper. It is one of those unaccountable occurrences in which an individual, by a single action, seems to display an intuitive knowledge of a principle which it has taken others, in the progress of science, years to arrive at; and, in this instance, seems to justify the application to the surgeon—of the observation usually applied only to the poet —"Nascitur, non fit." The circumstance we are about to mention is, at first sight, but little remarkable; but assumes considerable interest, when we reflect on the train of reasoning which must have, although perhaps insensibly, passed through the mind of Astley Cooper, before he could possibly have arrived at the conclusion on which he acted. The occasion to which these remarks relate was the following:—

We have already mentioned the circumstance of Astley Cooper's being nursed by a foster-mother,

Mrs. Love. A son of this person, somewhat older than Astley Cooper, had been ordered by his father to convey some coals to the house of Mr. Castell, the vicar, and while on the road, by some accident the poor lad fell down in front of the cart, one wheel of which, before he could recover himself, passed over his thigh, and, among other injuries, caused the laceration of its principal artery. The unfortunate boy, paralyzed by the shock of the accident, and sinking under the loss of blood,—the flow of which was attempted to be stopped by the pressure of handkerchiefs applied to the part only, —was carried, almost exhausted, to his home, where, Astley Cooper having heard of the accident which had befallen his foster-brother, almost immediately afterwards arrived. The bleeding was continuing, or, probably having for a time ceased, had broken out afresh. All was alarm and confusion,—when the young Astley, in the midst of the distressing scene, alone capable of deliberating, and perceiving the necessity of instantly preventing further loss of blood, had the presence of mind to encircle the limb with his pocket handkerchief above the wound, and afterwards to bind it round so tightly, that it acted as a ligature upon the wounded vessel, and stopped the bleeding. To these means his foster-brother owed a prolongation of life until the arrival of the surgeon who had been sent for from Loddon.

The courage which this transaction exhibits is altogether different from that displayed by Astley

Cooper in the adventures already related; for, banishing the disgust which so generally, and almost, it would seem, naturally fills the mind at the sight of blood flowing from a large wound,—unterrified by the attendant circumstances of horror or the distress of those who surrounded his dying foster-brother,—he did at once precisely that which science would have taught the most expert surgeon to have done, had he been present. It might be supposed that he had at some time overheard, or had had explained to him, the proper method of acting in case of a calamity such as that above described. But this is on every account highly improbable, and indeed, if by chance the suggestion were proved to be correct, the decision of character which the prompt application of the remedy exhibited, would be rarely met with among boys of his age, and the fact, therefore, indicates as high a quality of mind as that of the inventive power which could first project the fit mechanical means employed.

It is strange that the first application of Astley's intrepidity to a surgical purpose should have been directed towards an individual to whom he must naturally have felt himself bound by ties, little less endearing, than those of consanguinity. The blood which he stanched had received its early sustenance from the same breast which had nourished his own. If only on this account the event would have created a strong feeling in his mind: but it must have been rendered far more impressive, from the relief

afforded by his benevolent exertions to the distressed mother, in whose affections he himself stood second only to the sufferer.

Sir Astley Cooper, in after life, used to relate that this accident, which he always regarded as a remarkable event in his own history, first bent his thoughts towards the profession of surgery; and it is not difficult to imagine, that such an influence would be exerted on his mind, both by the gratitude of the friends of the poor boy, who witnessed his conduct on the occasion, and the flattering applauses of his own friends, to whom the circumstance might be related. In addition, the gratification of his own warm heart at having thus been made the means of prolonging the life of a fellow-creature, and his anticipations of similar delight in a profession where such sources of pleasure would be probably of frequent occurrence, would tend to make its pursuit an object of his ambition. The success of his uncle, Mr. William Cooper, of London, together with his own previous inattention to study, and, perhaps, positive dislike to a college life and literary pursuits, without doubt had also considerable weight with him in this consideration. Although the taste for surgical pursuits was thus excited, he had as yet by no means fixed upon his future course in life, nor was it until other circumstances, which we shall have to mention in the following chapter, had occurred, that he determined to devote his future life and enegies to that science, in following

which he afterwards acquired so much renown, and over which he shed so bright a lustre.

We have already mentioned that, in the year 1781, Dr. Cooper was presented with the vicarage of Great Yarmouth, to which town he and his family, leaving the manor-house at Brooke, immediately repaired. The sketches which we have already given of Astley Cooper's habits and disposition, during his residence at his native village, and the incidents we have recounted, sufficiently offer to the reader an insight into his character at that period; and we now, therefore, take leave of "Master Astley," until he has become settled in his father's new domicile, the parsonage-house at Yarmouth.

CHAPTER III.

THE VILLAGE OF BROOKE IN NORFOLK. THE MANOR-HOUSE IN WHICH SIR ASTLEY COOPER WAS BORN. SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S ATTACHMENT TO IT IN AFTER LIFE. HIS RECOLLECTIONS OF HIS NATIVE VILLAGE, AND REFLECTIONS ON ITS PRESENT ALTERED CONDITION. MY LATE VISIT TO NORFOLK. APPEARANCE OF BROOKE AT THE PRESENT TIME. REMAINS OF THE OLD BROOKE HALL. THE BROOKE OAK. THE CHURCH AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS. MONUMENT TO ONE OF SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S SISTERS.

I CANNOT leave the village of Brooke, of which I have already had so frequently to speak, and around which, to the friends and admirers of Astley Cooper, in future will exist so many interesting associations, without giving some slight description of it, as well as of its old manor-house. The latter, although no longer in existence as the witness of the early days of Astley Cooper, lives in my recollections with a feeling akin to reverence; and, I am assured, that this feeling will be found, in some degree, to exist in all those who regard the memory of the illustrious subject of these Memoirs with the admiration due to his eminent services and estimable character.

The village of Brooke, distant about three miles from Shotisham and seven from Norwich, is one of the prettiest and most retired villages in the county

of Norfolk, but is now very different in character from what it was in the early days of Astley Cooper. The manor-house, in which he was born, was an old building with a spacious hall, and with its outhouses, gardens, and orchards occupied a considerable plot of ground. When Dr. Cooper first went to it in the year 1767, the house and the estate on which it was situated belonged to Mr. Warde, whose heiress married Lord Roseberry; and this nobleman it was who afterwards sold it to the family of the Holmes's, its present possessors. They have since pulled down the old mansion, and in its stead erected the present modern edifice. This circumstance, when it occurred, caused no little concern to Sir Astley Cooper, who had conceived for the old house an almost romantic affection,—so that, on hearing of its impending fate, he took pains to procure a sketch of it. Indeed, there was no trait of the character of Sir Astley Cooper more prominently conspicuous, perhaps, than his strong attachment to places, whether remarkable on account of their association with himself, or with those others whom he loved, or whose memory he honoured. With this feeling ever predominant,—even when arrived at the zenith of his professional fame,—he always contemplated and spoke of the place of his birth, and the scenes of his childhood, with a sort of filial regard, and delighted to indulge the hope of once more revisiting them. But the cares and numerous engagements which his eminent position and extensive practice brought upon him,

and the attention which he bestowed on his own contiguous estate at Hemel Hempstead, prevented the fulfilment of this desire until a few years before his decease: when, with a realization of delight perhaps far within the amount which he had anticipated, the object of his longing was at last attained, and he again stood amidst those scenes, the memory of which he had so fondly cherished. The notes which he made on this occasion,—rough and hurriedly written down as they are,—are full of tender recollection and the warmest feeling, and we do not hesitate to insert them here; for while they serve to illustrate the feature in Sir Astley Cooper's character, to which we have just alluded, they at the same time present to the reader a more graphic description, perhaps, of the village of Brooke as it appeared some sixty years since, than any ampler account which we could obtain from other sources.

Having given his orders at the village inn, the landlord of which still shows with pride the humble room in which he dined, Sir Astley writes, "I walked down the village, along an enclosed road, dull and shadowed by plantations on either side; instead of those commons and open spaces, ornamented here and there by clean cottages. The little *mere** was so much smaller than in my imagination, that I could hardly believe my eyes:—the great mere was half empty, and dwindled also to a paltry pond. On my right were the plantations of Mr. Ketts, overshading the road, and for which numerous

* A common term in Norfolk for an isolated piece of water.

cottages had been sacrificed; on my left,—cottages enclosed in gardens. Still proceeding to the scenes of my early years, on the right was a lodge leading to Mr. Holmes's new house, and water with a boat on it;—a fine mansion, but overlooking the lands of Mr. Ketts. I then walked on to the vicar's, Mr. Castell, but he was out. I looked for the church mere, and it was filled up, planted, and converted into a garden. I looked for the old Brooke Hall, the place of my nativity and the seat of the happiness of my early years—for the road which led to it and its forecourt—its flower gardens and kitchen gardens—its stable-yard and coach-houses—and all were gone. The very place where they once were is forgotten. Here we had our boat, our swimming, our shooting — excellent partridge-shooting — in Brooke-wood tolerable pheasant-shooting—woodcocks—in Seething Fen abundance of snipes—a good neighbourhood, seven miles from Norwich, almost another London, where my grandfather lived; we knew everybody, kept a carriage and chaise, saw much company, and were almost allowed to do as we liked; but the blank of all these gratifications now only remains.

"The once beautiful village is swallowed up by two parks—cottages cut down to make land for them—commons enclosed, &c.*"

* On the page of his note-book opposite to that on which the above is written, Sir Astley Cooper has penned a rude but interesting diagram of the village as it was at the period of his childhood, and parallel with this, another of the village as he then found it, in A.D. 1836.

These reminiscences, called forth when standing before the place of his birth—the spot where all his earliest recollections centered—present a truly touching picture, and forcibly recall the similar reflections, familiar to every reader, of Dr. Goldsmith on his own once smiling Auburn. If Sir Astley did not repeat the following lines, which are but slightly altered from the original, it is sufficiently evident that his feelings were to the full in keeping with those of which they are expressive:—

Sweet village! parent of the blissful hour;
* * * * * * * * * *
Here, as with solitary step I stray,
Along thy cheerless, once familiar way,
And, many years elapsed, return to view
Where once the cottage stood, the hawthorn grew;
Here, as with doubtful, pensive step I range,
Trace every scene, and wonder at the change,
Remembrance wakes with all her busy train,
Swells at my breast, and turns the past to pain.

Indeed, it seems not a little probable that these very lines did pass through the mind of Sir Astley Cooper, when he made the remarks above quoted; for subsequently, when reflecting on the probable cause of these changes, "the immense capital produced by commerce, enabling individuals to purchase land, &c.," he quotes from the same poem a portion of the paragraph commencing with the well-known lines,—

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay,—&c.

This feeling of regret at the altered state of Brooke is not confined to Sir Astley Cooper, for I

have heard similar feelings expressed by those of its inhabitants who were acquainted with it in their childhood, and previously to its present altered condition. Thus, Mr. Castell the vicar has related to me that it had lost to him its original and most attractive features—the unenclosed green, the walnut trees, the school-room, &c. But to the visitor, unimpressed by any early associations, the changes which this still pleasing village has undergone, will probably appear highly beneficial. It is true, the open green is gone, and with it the advantages which a common usually affords to the poorer inhabitants; but instead, the cottages, all of the neatest description and in excellent repair, stand in the midst of well enclosed and cultivated gardens: the two meres, abundantly stocked with fish, are surrounded by trees of luxuriant growth, spreading chesnuts, willows dipping into the water beneath, and tall poplars; and these again are separated from the high road, which, dividing, runs on either side, by neatly painted wooden palings; while an air of quiet cheerfulness and order reigns over the whole place and gives it a charm which cannot fail to inspire a stranger with ideas of the comfort of its inhabitants. The present Brooke Hall is a handsome stone structure, built by Wilkins in the modern style, surrounded by a good park and beautifully arranged gardens, and, from the spot where it is now placed, which is considerably higher than the site of the former manor-house, commands a pleasing and extensive view of gently undulating

and well-cultivated land, agreeably interspersed with wood and water. It has, however, the disadvantage noticed by Sir Astley, of overlooking the neighbouring estates of Mr. Kett, its own estates stretching out towards the village of Howe. In a late visit which I made to this village, in company with my friend Mr. Longmore, many vestiges of the old manor-house were pointed out to us by Mr. Castell the vicar, which will be long fondly cherished in the recollections of those who honour the memory of my beloved uncle. The site both of the house and the grounds which immediately surrounded it, is now chiefly occupied by the hot-houses, kitchen gardens, and orchards of the present Hall; but a part of the outer wall and large gateway, which opened into 'the fore court,' remain but little altered. Within may be traced the double road leading up to the house, along which, the Doctor on a Sunday morning used to ride in his stately coach drawn by four black horses, the starting of which, as it rattled over the loose stones, Mr. Castell assured me, could be heard at Yelverton, where he used to preach, and was the signal for the bells to commence ringing to call the parishioners to service. The old pigeon-house remains unaltered, and near it a portion of the stables. At the back, on the way to the present mansion, stands an oak remarkable for its beauty and vigour, called, *par excellence*, the Brooke Oak*, and reported to be

* In the *Eastern Arboretum*, by JAMES GRIGOR, No. X., p. 241, may be seen an etching of this tree. In the description

upwards of two centuries old. This tree, when Astley Cooper was a boy at Brooke, stood at the head of a large moat, and beneath the shade of its branches he was accustomed to undress, and thence to leap into the water at its foot. Here he learned to swim. The moat no longer remains; it is filled up and planted. The church, which closely adjoins the gardens, is small and ancient, without aisles or transept; but having a tower and peal of bells. The interior is plain: its roof, which is composed of wood, is said to have been erected upwards of seven centuries since. Near to the old-fashioned porch, an ancient font, covered with rudely-chiselled figures, long since mutilated by fanatic zeal, stands as it did when the unconscious subject of these Memoirs first received the name which he has since rendered so illustrious. Not one of the least interesting features of the place is the large family pew of my grandfather, placed immediately behind the screen, which formerly divided the chancel and nave, on one side of the pulpit, and between it and the altar; the corresponding pew on the opposite side having been appropriated to the servants. Here Astley first listened to the public teaching of the word of

occur the following remarks:—"Are we, as lovers of trees, in quest of fine oaks, where shall we find one more happily placed or of finer character than that which rises on the left hand side of the drive as we approach the mansion? (Brooke Hall.) It is an exceedingly fine tree, and, as our etching proves, a true oak. Its circumference of trunk, at one foot from the surface of the ground, is seventeen feet nine inches; its bole fifteen feet; and its extreme height sixty-five feet."

God,—the object of many a fervent prayer breathed by the doating mother at whose side he knelt, of sisterly and fraternal love, and of general admiration. From this pew each Sunday, at the appointed time, he used to walk down the church with his elder brothers, and entering a little door, which still remains, ascended to the gallery above, and joining in the simple village choir, poured forth his youthful voice in praise. These tokens of the past remain unchanged; but of those who then met together among them, two only survive—one, the elder brother of him who has given these relics so much interest; the other, my reverend friend, the present pastor, who still dwells among the scenes of his boyhood.

As Mr. Castell drew my attention to these things, the pew, the very pulpit from which my grandfather had so often preached to his congregation and large family beneath, a thousand pictures flitted before my fancy, while as many feelings crowded in my breast, and painfully excited me; and at one time, under the influence of these emotions, I went into the pulpit. There, abstracting my thoughts, I endeavoured to take a retrospective vision of the family, as when they formerly assembled in the pew beneath, and such is the power of imagination, that I brought to my view Mrs. Cooper and her children all before me. Her mild countenance, which had hardly presented itself to my imagination for years, seemed now suddenly recalled to my memory, its image being retraced with an

intensity of expression proportionate to that of my feelings. My knowledge of the character of my uncles gave me a rapid judgment of what I suppose must have been their youthful expression. The dignified Bransby, the meek Lovick, the vivacious Astley, were all, as boys, before me; and the feeling became so strong from the pleasurable excitement of the delusion, that when I closed my eyes, I could hardly doubt the reality of their presence. The impression, however, was evanescent, and in the next minute the phantom had fled, and reality brought me back to think of the truth, of how repeatedly the grave had opened, and that those on whom my mind just now so powerfully dwelt, were all, save one, numbered with the dead.

There is only one monument in the church, to the memory of any of Dr. Cooper's family: it is to Sir Astley's infant sister, Maria, who died when he himself was only four years old. The inscription is the following:—

Sacred to the Memory
of
Anna Maria,
The infant daughter of
The late Rev. Dr. Cooper, Minister of Yarmouth,
And of Maria Susanna, his Wife,
Who resided at Brooke Hall from A.D. 1767 to A.D. 1782.
She died on the 7th of June, 1770,
And was buried
Under the North Wall of this Church.
To Innocence
No death can be untimely.

CHAPTER IV.

ASTLEY COOPER'S ARRIVAL AT YARMOUTH. HIS PROPENSITY FOR ADVENTURE CONTINUES. HIS NARROW ESCAPE IN YARMOUTH CHURCH; IN YARMOUTH RIVER. HE SOON BECOMES AN OBJECT OF GENERAL OBSERVATION IN THE TOWN. DEVOTES HIMSELF TO AMUSEMENT. ANECDOTES. MR. SHERRINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF ASTLEY COOPER AT THIS PERIOD. ASTLEY COOPER'S INTERRUPTION OF THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY. DESCRIPTION OF BACON THE SEXTON OF YARMOUTH AT THAT TIME, AND HIS WIFE. ASTLEY CONFINED TO A ROOM BY HIS FATHER. DR. COOPER'S PREDICTION CONCERNING HIM. ASTLEY COOPER'S SENSIBILITY OF DISPOSITION. MISS WORDSWORTH. ASTLEY COOPER'S RIDE TO HOWE. HIS RECOLLECTION IN AFTER LIFE OF THIS VISIT. MR. WILLIAM COOPER'S VISITS TO YARMOUTH. ASTLEY COOPER'S ATTENTION DIRECTED TO THE MEDICAL PROFESSION. WITNESSES AN OPERATION BY DR. DONNEE OF NORWICH. INFLUENCE OF THIS UPON HIM. ANXIETY TO VISIT THE METROPOLIS.

ASTLEY COOPER was between twelve and thirteen years of age when he arrived at Yarmouth, in which town he remained for a period of about two years and a half, prior to his departure for London. He brought with him from Brooke all his propensity for mischief, and for some time, indeed, seems to have made use of the increased extent in size and population of his new place of residence, merely as a means of indulging more easily and on a larger scale in those levities—the offspring of a buoyant heart

and thoughtless youth—which had already distinguished him in the more limited sphere he had just relinquished. It is to be observed, however, that these irregularities were never strictly opposed to the interests of virtue and honesty, nor, indeed, ever exhibited anything but repugnance to those mean, though less serious faults which often intrude into schoolboy sports and occupations: on the contrary, they are characterized by cheerfulness of temper, openness of character, sensibility of disposition, and eve r quality of an ingenuous mind. It is a matter therefore of no surprise that he should at once have gained in Yarmouth, the same degree of esteem among his youthful companions as he had before enjoyed at Brooke, or that conjoined with the traces of superior intellect, which he constantly exhibited, these qualities should have obtained for him an equally favourable reception among the elder visitants at his father's house.

The spirit of daring which had always distinguished him, seems to have increased to such an extent, that scarcely anything was able to divert him, which was not more or less accompanied with personal risk. This recklessness in regard to danger often led him into imminent peril. Soon after Dr. Cooper's arrival in Yarmouth, the church underwent certain repairs, and Astley having constant access to the building from his influence with the sexton, used frequently to amuse himself by watching the progress of the improvements. Upon one occasion he ascended by a ladder to the ceiling of the chancel,

(a height of seventy feet,) and with foolish temerity walked along one of the joists; a position of danger, to which few, but the workmen who were accustomed to walk at such an elevation, would have dared voluntarily to expose themselves. While thus employed, his foot suddenly slipped, and he fell between the rafters of the ceiling. One of his legs, however, fortunately remained bent over the joist on which he had been walking, while the foot was caught beneath the next adjoining rafter, and by this entanglement alone he was preserved from instant destruction. He remained for some time suspended with his head downwards, and it was not until after repeated and violent efforts, that he succeeded in jerking his body upwards, when by catching hold of the rafter he was enabled to recover his footing. I believe from the manner in which Sir Astley used to refer to this adventure, that he always re-experienced to a great degree the horror which filled his mind at seeing the distance between him and the floor of the chancel, when he was thus suspended from its ceiling.

So narrow an escape would be likely to have made most boys less adventurous in future, but it seems that its influence on Astley was at any rate but evanescent, for in a very short time afterwards he exposed himself in a position scarcely less perilous. This, however, according to his usual good fortune, proved equally harmless. Being one day bent upon a nautical excursion he determined to put to sea in one of the frail barks peculiar to

the river Yare, known by the name of gun-boats. These little vessels are very lightly put together, being constructed solely for the purpose of carrying a man, his gun and dog, over the shallows of Braydon, in pursuit of the flights of wild fowl which at certain seasons haunt these shoals. When the boat is thus loaded, it only draws two or three inches of water: thus altogether, one would suppose, so evidently unfitted to encounter roughness of weather, as to preclude the probability of any reasonable person attempting to put to sea in one of them. Astley, however, seems to have considered the pleasure enhanced by the novelty and risk of his excursion, and with a sail set, a large stone placed in the centre of the boat as ballast, and favoured by a strong ebb tide, he commenced his voyage down the river. All went on very prosperously till he reached the bar, or that part where the meeting of the salt and fresh water occurs. A considerable agitation is thus produced; the boat's head was immediately thrown up by the first wave, the stone came rolling down upon the adventurer's legs, for he was sitting at the bottom of his boat, there being no bench or seat in it; it became half filled with water, and with the greatest difficulty Astley reached the shore. There he left his boat under the care of some beachmen, and then walked quietly home, convinced at last that a gun-boat was not a vessel fitted for such an expedition.

From incidents of this nature and his generally fearless and enterprising disposition, he soon acquired

the greatest influence over his new companions at Yarmouth, and at their head, he for a time appears to have devoted himself to every kind of amusement within his reach, riding, boating, fishing, and not unfrequently, to sports of a less harmless character, such as breaking lamps and windows, ringing the church bells at all hours, disturbing the people by frequent alterations of the town clock, &c., so that if any mischief was committed, the whole population would at once attribute it to "Master Astley Cooper." Some of his pranks were of the most eccentric and amusing description, while others must have required a degree of cleverness and ingenuity in their execution, and a command over the expression of his features, such as boys at his period of life are not often found to possess. The following is one which he often related at his table, and which, as he described it, never failed to set his listeners into a roar of laughter, in which he himself always heartily joined. It has lately been corroborated to me by persons still living at Yarmouth.

Having taken two pillows from his mother's bed, he carried them up to the spire of Yarmouth church, at a time when the wind was blowing from the north-east, and as soon as he had ascended as high as he could, he ripped them open, and shaking out their contents, dispersed them in the air. The feathers were carried away by the wind, and fell far and wide over the surface of the market-place, to the great astonishment of a large number of persons

assembled there. The timid looked upon it as a phenomenon predictive of some calamity—the inquisitive formed a thousand conjectures—while some, curious in natural history, actually accounted for it, by a gale of wind in the north blowing wild fowl feathers from the island of St. Paul's. It was not long, however, before the difficulty was cleared up in the doctor's house, where it at first gave rise to anything but those expressions of amusement which the explanation, when circulated through the town, is reported to have excited. I think my uncle used to say that some extraordinary account of the affair, before the secret was discovered, found its way into the Norwich papers.

The following anecdote was first related to me by a carpenter at Yarmouth, of the name of Howe, who was long employed by Dr. Cooper; and being struck with its singularity, I afterwards mentioned it to Sir Astley, who confirmed the account.

Upon one occasion, while Astley was at Yarmouth, it was determined to get rid of a large chest, which from its size was an inconvenience in the house, and Mr. Howe the carpenter received orders to remove it. This appeared to Astley an excellent opportunity for one of his practical jokes. It was accordingly agreed between him and the servants who were to show the men the chest, that he should get into it, and so be carried to the carpenter's, who lived on the other side of the market-place. This was no sooner settled, than it was necessary for him to get into his hiding-place, and

the next instant he was descending the stair-case, borne on the shoulders of two men, who at every step alluded, not without complaint, to the unexpected weight of the old box. They, however, persevered in their errand, and at last deposited their load at Mr. Howe's workshop, without having discovered the nature of its contents. Presently, its inhabitant, tired of his close position, but yet beginning to dread the penalty he would have to pay for his ride, having remained for some minutes in rather a disagreeable state of suspense, plucked up resolution, and began somewhat slowly to raise the lid of the box. The amazement of the workmen at this movement, and the exclamation of surprise which followed it, caused him as rapidly to close it again, but immediately afterwards growing desperate, he again pushed it up and stepped out. At first he tried to cover the trick he had played on the men by laughter, and showed a disposition to make his retreat; this, however, was at once cut off, by one of his own fatigued bearers, who was not in the best humour now that he comprehended the affair, and Master Astley was not allowed to escape from the workshop until he had made a liberal compensation for his frolic.

Mr. Sherrington, whose kindness I made use of in a former chapter, when describing certain adventures in which he was associated with Astley Cooper at Brooke, has also furnished me with the particulars of some in connection with this period. Having been speaking in reference to the departure of Sir

Astley from his native village, Mr. Sherrington proceeds: "I also left Brooke and was apprenticed to my father at Great Yarmouth, and though differently situated in life Mr. Astley did not forget his school companion. The doctor also took a fancy to me, lent me books, and frequently in the presence of his family asked me questions on various subjects, and when pleased with the answer I gave him, used to pat me on the head, smile, and say, 'This is a Brooke boy.' Master Astley and I frequently went out as companions together, and he still continued to amuse himself by various eccentric freaks. I remember one day, while the worthy doctor was marrying a couple in the chancel, Master Astley secreted himself in a turret close by the altar, and imitating his father's voice, repeated in a subdued tone the words of the marriage service as the ceremony proceeded. The doctor's attention was several times attracted by this, and he remarked that he had never observed an echo in that place before. He went on, but was evidently much puzzled; while the clerk, who shrewdly guessed the cause but dared not inform the doctor of his suspicions, continued during the whole of the service in a state of the most disagreeable suspense, at one moment with difficulty suppressing his laughter, at the next, filled with alarm at the discovery which seemed every instant more and more inevitable."

The following anecdotes were also furnished to me by the same gentleman:—The gravedigger and sexton of Yarmouth in the time of Dr. Cooper, familiarly

called Nat Bacon, was an odd eccentric man, as well in his appearance as character, and from his simplicity and love of drinking, became a frequent butt for the amusement of Astley and his companions. Nat Bacon was short in stature, and disproportionably broad, his countenance, ridiculous enough from its set of small features pimpled and vermilioned by his frequent devotions to the bottle, was made still more ridiculous by a cast in one eye; while the irresistible drollery of his aspect was completed by his decorations derived from the doctor's liberality, who always used to bestow on him his old hats and wigs and other cast-off apparel, without much regard for their aptitude to his person. The better half of this individual was as much an oddity as himself, and was well known to take at least equal delight with her husband in ridding herself of care by indulging in that pleasing forgetfulness, which is usually consequent on liberal potations. Their tête-à-tête indulgences of this nature were not always, however, crowned with the happiest termination; but, on the other hand, too frequently led to little domestic altercations, in which, as his wife's temper when excited was not remarkable for its mildness, poor Nat seldom played other than an inferior part. Circumstances, however, kindly provided him with a retreat from these afflictions, no less secure than strange; for, whenever Mrs. Bacon became extremely unconscionable, Nat would retire into the clock-case of the church, (willing to exchange the clatter of the

machinery and the occasional striking of the hours, for the more harsh infliction of the one, and the more personal application of the other inconvenience at home,) and in this place, secure from interruption, contrived to enjoy that quiet which he in vain sought in the society of his spouse. Occasionally after a severe storm, having provided himself with certain means of enjoyment, he would remain in his retreat for several hours; a protracted absence, which at first caused alarm, but on subsequent occasions merely excited the displeasure of the doctor for the neglect of his duty which was the consequence; and this, Nat's piteous recital of his domestic afflictions, his description of the temper and inebriety of his spouse, would without much difficulty soften or remove. Upon one occasion, when his wife had indulged with her usual freedom, Nat on his way to the clock-case met young Astley, and despondingly related to him a sad story of his spouse, and the disgraceful state in which he had just left her. While Nat was relating this, a thought struck Astley, which he determined, as soon as it grew dark, to put into execution. Accordingly, having dressed himself in an old cassock of his father's, and otherwise disguised himself as well as he could to represent the form of his satanic majesty, he entered her cottage, and presented himself before her; when to his surprise the old lady, instead of being dreadfully alarmed, in a few moments seemed to lose all fear, and nothing daunted, her potation having been somewhat stronger than "tip-

peny," perhaps not much weaker than "usquebae*," freely entered into conversation with him. He therefore told her that as she would be his property after death, in this life she should never again know want nor care of any kind, but that everything she could desire he would provide for her. He then presented her with some money in token of his good will, and leaving her to her cogitations, suddenly disappeared. It seems that after this interview she fell into a profound slumber, in which she remained until the bright sun falling on her through the casement roused and woke her. At first she thought only of headache, thirst, and other inconveniences with which she was too familiar, not to be able easily to account for: then came a confused recollection of what she in the first place thought a dream, but which by degrees assumed the appearance of reality, until at last the evidence of the money in her possession, and the recollection of the remarks which accompanied it when presented to her, converted the whole affair into a serious matter of certainty, and she became very wretched. On her husband's return she related to him the whole occurrence, and he, fully convinced of her lost condition, fell into a state of misery and doubt, in which they would probably have remained for some time, had no further notice been taken of it. But their alarm and sorrow was too deep and sincere to be allowed to be maintained for any length of

* Wi' tippeny we fear nae evil;
Wi' usquebae we'll face the Devil!

time, and Astley felt as much pleasure in relieving the poor folks from their wretchedness as he had previously in the trick by which it had been caused.

At this period, too, he played a trick, which, although in itself sufficiently harmless, nearly led to serious consequences from the effect it produced on the sensitive mind of his mother. Whilst out shooting near Yarmouth, he one day killed an owl—a bird familiarly known in Norfolk by the soubriquet of "Brother Billy." Having arrived at home, he went up into his mother's room, with the bird concealed beneath his coat, and assuming a countenance full of fear and sorrow, called out, "Mother! mother! I've shot my brother Billy!" but the alarm and distress instantly depicted on the distracted countenance of his parent, induced him as quickly as possible to pull the owl from under his coat. This at once exposed the truth and allayed the apprehension of his mother's mind, but the effects of the shock it had caused did not so immediately pass away. So thoughtless a joke his father determined should not go unpunished, and he therefore confined him, according to his usual mode of correction, in his own room. Astley, however, was but little disposed to remain passive in his imprisonment, and in the wantonness of his ever active disposition, amused himself by climbing up the chimney, and having at last reached the summit, endeavoured, by imitating the well-known tone of voice of a chimney-sweeper, and calling out as lustily as he could, "Sweep! sweep!" to attract the attention of the people below.

The doctor happened to be walking with a friend in his favourite walk, "the Church Trees," (which he used to regard as appertaining to the church and parsonage, as the Close does to a Cathedral,) when he heard this noise from the top of his house; and looking upward there recognised his son. Turning to his companion, Mr. Sherrington relates that the doctor said, "There is my boy Astley again; he is a sad rogue, but in spite of his roguery I have no doubt he will yet be a shining character:" a prophecy which, however highly he may have appreciated his son's natural talents, he perhaps little thought would ever be fulfilled to the extent that it has been.

Such were some of the strange adventures, in which Astley Cooper at this time employed his idle hours. They often exhibit a spirit of enterprise and a fearlessness of consequences, seldom found, excepting among those, the duties of whose course of life naturally introduce and inure them to scenes of danger; but whatever may have led to this hardihood in Astley's character, it was neither want nor callousness of feeling, for never was a heart more susceptible of the tenderest emotions than his. His dread of giving pain to others, and his distress when inadvertently he had done so, together with the general amiability of his conduct and temper, were so well known, that every one was anxious to assist him out of any difficulty in which he might be involved, and would endeavour to screen him, if possible, from threatened punishment. The sensibility of his disposition,

which throughout life continued to form one of the most distinguishing and loveable traits of his character, led him in his earliest years, even when delighting in the rough and hazardous sports we have described, to appreciate the charms of female character and to court friendship in its society. The evident pleasure he took in contributing to the amusement of his sisters and their friends, the respect and attention he always paid to them, together with his elegant form and handsome features,—not omitting the other qualities which had exercised so much influence over the companions of his own sex,—all combined to render him an especial favourite with the softer sex; and in their society he spent a considerable portion of his time at this period, frequently in the morning accompanying them in their walks, or driving them out in the vehicles common at that period, called "Yarmouth carts," and seldom being without some engagement for their parties in the evening.

Before leaving Brooke, although then so young, he had displayed the same fondness for the softer attractions of female friendship, and had formed an attachment to a young lady of his own age, a Miss Wordsworth, the daughter of a clergyman, whose residence was in the adjoining village of Howe. When at Yarmouth, notwithstanding the general attractions to which we have alluded, he still continued to feel a particular degree of affection towards this young lady. In order to see her, he once rode on horseback to Howe, and

returned to Yarmouth on the evening of the same day, altogether a distance of forty-eight miles. Frequently when I have been travelling with my uncle, some circumstance would suddenly recall to him the memory of this visit, and at the recollection he never failed to exhibit such an interest and warmth of feeling as plainly showed the powerful impression left upon his mind by the interview. With a smile of amusement at the deception, he would describe to me how, with the full intention of taking this lengthened ride, he had borrowed the horse from his father, on pretence of visiting the camp then assembled at Hopton, a village about eight miles from Yarmouth: how his unexpected arrival at the parsonage, evidently agreeable to the young lady, had seemed to produce no less uneasiness than surprise on the part of the parent; so great, indeed, as to make him fear that he would not receive an invitation to remain. Then this difficulty overcome, he would dwell on a walk in the garden which they took together, with the tenderest recollection; indeed, there was no scene or incident in his life I ever heard him speak of which appeared to interest him to the same extent. What it was that prevented this evidently mutual attachment from leading to their future union, their ages and position in life being so similar, I never heard; their youth, and the fact of their being at so early a period separated from each other, were probably the only circumstances which presented an obstacle to their apparently mutual

wishes. During my late visit to Norfolk, I went to this parsonage and there saw the very room, the only one which has not undergone alterations since that period, in which Miss Wordsworth and her father were sitting when young Astley made his appearance after his long ride. It was then used as the dining-room, and small as it is, the present incumbent, a relative of the late Mr. Wordsworth, informed me, that persons of the highest rank in the county, at that time, frequently met there and partook of his relation's hospitality; for Mr. Wordsworth was distinguished for his powers of conversation, and held a high reputation for profound classical attainments, as well as solid worth of character. The garden is altered, but so graphic had been my uncle's account of the walk in which he had loitered with Miss Wordsworth on that day, that I fancied I could trace its position by the direction of a hedge which he used to speak of, and that I saw the very gate where he had taken his farewell, and mounted his horse to ride the twenty-four miles back to Yarmouth after this happy and romantic visit.

But amid these youthful pleasures and frolics, there had been stirred up, and was now strong within him, a dissatisfaction with his present condition of life, accompanied by an ambitious thirst for useful employment and independence. I have already mentioned the accident to his foster-brother, his behaviour on that occasion, and the powerful influence exercised on his mind by the circum-

stances of the event. These impressions, although allowed to remain dormant while he was actively engaged in the careless gaieties, arising from want of proper employment, were now awakened to increased vigour, by the conversation of his uncle, Mr. William Cooper, who occasionally paid a visit to his brother, Dr. Cooper, at the parsonage. This gentleman was at this time the Senior Surgeon of Guy's Hospital, and in addition to being well versed in professional knowledge, was a lively, well-informed, and talented man, and in every respect calculated to captivate a lad of such buoyant spirits and active mind, as his young nephew possessed. Astley, indeed, was delighted with the conversation of his uncle; who, in turn, appears to have been equally pleased with him, to have looked beyond the levities of his conduct, and to have detected an honourable disposition in his vigorous and active mind. The animated descriptions of London and its scenes, and the numerous anecdotes which his uncle, who mixed much in society, would narrate, in the presence of his young nephew, led him earnestly to bend his thoughts towards the metropolis, and determined his selection of that profession, which, from his uncle's position and influence, offered him above all others an advantageous opening.

Still, however, there can be but little doubt, that much of this anxiety to visit London was attributable rather to his taste for pleasure and excitement, than to any wish for industrious employment.

For when he had finally determined on becoming his uncle's pupil, (which was not, Sir Astley used to say, until after witnessing an operation for the extraction of stone, by Dr. Donnee, of Norwich,) there was no evidence of his making any special resolution of devotion to his adopted science, or exhibiting any unusual desire for achieving greatness of name in its pursuit.

CHAPTER V.

ASTLEY COOPER IS ARTICLED AS PUPIL TO HIS UNCLE, MR. WILLIAM COOPER, OF LONDON. ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR HIS ENTERING MR. CLINE'S FAMILY. PECULIAR ADVANTAGES OF THIS ARRANGEMENT. ASTLEY COOPER LEAVES HOME. THE ANXIETY OF HIS FRIENDS CONCERNING HIM. DESCRIPTION OF HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE AT THIS PERIOD. AMOUNT OF HIS INFORMATION. HIS DISPOSITION. REMARKS ON HIS PREVIOUS EDUCATION. MR. CLINE'S ADMIRATION OF JOHN HUNTER. HIS INTIMACY WITH HORNE TOOKE, THELWALL, AND OTHERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. INFLUENCE OF THE EXAMPLE OF THESE PERSONS, IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS, ON ASTLEY COOPER. BRIEF PROFESSIONAL HISTORY OF MR. CLINE. SIR ASTLEY'S ACCOUNT OF MR. CLINE'S CHARACTER.

ASTLEY appears to have succeeded without any difficulty in obtaining his father's approbation of his views towards the medical profession, and it was shortly afterwards arranged that Mr. William Cooper, his uncle, should receive him as an articled pupil. It being, however, inconvenient to Mr. Cooper to admit his nephew into his own house, it was determined that he should procure for him, if possible, a residence in that of the eminent Mr. Cline, one of the surgeons of St. Thomas's Hospital, who was in the habit of taking a few pupils to board with him. The friendship which existed between Mr. William Cooper and Mr. Cline readily removed all difficulties as to the reception of Astley into the

family of the latter, and the arrangement was carried into effect.

This plan in every respect was most propitious to the future professional prospects of the young aspirant, for although Mr. William Cooper was warmly attached to the interests of his nephew, and had a high opinion of his abilities and good qualities, yet he possessed a certain roughness of demeanour, and unusually strict notions of discipline, which would have ill accorded with the fiery and ungovernable spirit of young Astley. Subsequent events proved that their residing under the same roof would have been a source of annoyance and irritation to both parties. On the other hand, the society of Mr. Cline, a most interesting and instructive companion, as well as one of the best, if not the best, operative surgeon of the day, was calculated to be no less agreeable than useful to Astley Cooper. There can be no doubt that the greatest benefit accrued to Astley from the connection with Mr. Cline, and that much of the eminence which he afterwards attained in his profession, is to be attributed to this circumstance: for, judging from his character at this period, it is not improbable, that had his early professional life been consigned to the supervising influence of any one less gifted, or of a less winning and forbearing temper, he would never have been induced to prosecute his studies with that assiduity and zeal for which he was so conspicuous during the greater part of his pupilage.

The arrangements we have described, were

scarcely completed, when it became necessary for Astley to prepare for his journey, for his uncle, Mr. William Cooper, who had been paying his annual visit to the parsonage, being about to leave Yarmouth for London, it was determined that Astley should accompany him. His departure from home, which occurred in the latter part of August, 1784, as his character and disposition might lead us to expect, was attended by every demonstration of affectionate anxiety on the part of his relations and friends. His own feelings on the occasion were of the most bitter description, for the kindly characters of those who had formed his father's household, their deep interest in him, and his own loving disposition, joined with, perhaps, a somewhat regretful recollection of his previous career, all contributed to afflict him with a sorrow, probably more poignant than is usual on such occasions. But yet, a short time after he had left his home, the excess of his grief was diminished, lost at intervals in the excitement of his sanguine anticipations, or forgotten in the novel attractions by which he was surrounded. Not so readily, however, was the anxiety of those he left behind dispelled, for they, well acquainted with his proneness to excitement, and the many dangers to which he must necessarily be exposed, magnified as they no doubt were by their fears, looked forward to his future career with hopeful but trembling anticipation. The character of Astley was peculiarly calculated to excite these feelings, for while his mind exhibited all the requisites for achieving great-

ness, and by its energy and perseverance sufficiently proved that in whatever pursuit engaged, whether beneficial or injurious to himself, he would not willingly be left behind by any competitor: yet from his previous unsettled habits, and want of attention to the more important duties of life, the bias which might be given to it by his first instructors and associates was altogether indeterminate and doubtful.

His manners and appearance at this period were winning and agreeable. Although only sixteen years of age, his figure, which had advanced to nearly its full stature, was no less distinguished for the elegance of its proportions, than its healthy manliness of character; his handsome and expressive countenance was illumined by the generous disposition and active mind, equally characteristic of him then as in after life; his conversation was brisk and animated, his voice and manner of address in the highest degree pleasing and gentlemanly: while a soft and graceful ease, attendant on every action, rendered his society no less agreeable than his appearance prepossessing.

Though his intellectual faculties were by nature unusually vigorous, the amount of knowledge which he had acquired could not be said to be proportionate, either to the more obvious and engaging accomplishments of his exterior, or the peculiar opportunities afforded him under his father's roof. The deficiency, however, in his general acquirements, was by no means so great as a review of his former

life might lead us to anticipate; for although he had not directed much attention to grave and serious studies, nor exhibited any early habits of thought and reflection, yet there is no doubt that, from the lighter literature of the day in which his love of amusement led him to seek for gratification, his judgment had enabled him insensibly to extract much instruction. The conversation of his father, and unusually accomplished mother, with that of their friends*, must have furnished him with a store of information on various subjects, which, although at the time, perhaps, he did not duly value, his retentive memory would nevertheless enable him afterwards to convert to a useful purpose. Still it must be admitted, that whatever was the extent

* Among these were Lord Roseberry, Lord Chedworth, who visited him annually, Dr. Aikin, Dr. Parr, Mr. Canning, and many other well-known literary and political characters. Mr. Canning, from the following remark by the Rev. Thomas Crompton, (Op. Lit., p. 280,) appears to have been, at an early period of his career, a visitor at the house of Dr. Cooper. "It was once my good fortune to meet this truly great man at a large dinner party at Dr. Cooper's, where he was present with his uncle, Mr. Leigh. Lord Chedworth was also there. Mr. Canning had not then commenced his political career; but had already achieved so high a literary fame, that we were all greedy 'to swallow his discourse:' when unfortunately the discipline of a Hundred-house of Industry was a subject casually started, and from this attractive scent it was found impossible to call off some of our company. Enough, however, was heard from Mr. Canning to induce Lord Chedworth to declare, when the party broke up, with more than his ordinary enthusiasm, that 'Canning was a wonderful young man.'"

of information he had derived from these sources, it was without order, a mass of materials undigested and confused, and acquired in such a manner, as had but little tended to prepare his mind for that close application and those severer studies to which it was soon to be subjected. Some, perhaps, may be inclined to think that his prospects at this period would have been more bright, had a greater degree of restraint been laid on his actions, or more strictness exercised towards him in earlier youth; but I am disposed to believe, from a reconsideration of his disposition, that the course pursued was the most favourable for his advancement, as he was one on whom kindness was more likely to prove beneficial than the exercise of severity. His temperament, which, unlike the meekness and docility of some of his brothers, was passionate and daring, naturally led him to the pursuit of pleasure, or to exploits involving personal risk and hazard. Had this disposition been curbed, had his thoughtlessness and repugnance to study, not met with forbearance, or his foibles with indulgence, there can be but little doubt that he would have been urged, either into open defiance of all control, or into habits of sulky discontent: and thus those energies, which when once directed into a proper channel became so eminently and efficiently serviceable, might have been cramped at the first onset. Sir Astley Cooper, in one of his books of memoranda reverting to this period, regrets the liberty he was permitted to enjoy, and the loss of the advantages that would have been opened to him had he been

sent to one of the great public grammar-schools. But no one can study his early character, who is at the same time aware of the constitution of these schools, and in them how much depends on the industry of the boy himself, and not feel assured that a very similar if not a worse result would have followed, had such a system of education been adopted with him. Who can suppose, that, in the "scramble for the amount of knowledge thrown among the boys by their preceptors," the peculiar genius of Astley Cooper would have led him to seek for distinction, in being the most zealous and indefatigable gatherer? Though all who knew him might at first sight regret that he was not more versed in literature, they must still be convinced, on calling to recollection the peculiarity of his mind, that it was ill fitted to be limited by the common routine of scholastic discipline, but required to be left to its own mode of seeking that information to which his capacity was best adapted.

Thus, then, in possession of all the external means of exciting admiration in society, with a disposition whose aversion to labour had not been changed by the new prospects opening before him, but whose fondness for excitement remained undiminished, it is not a matter of wonder that in this his first visit to the metropolis, forebodings of evil, and fears of an unprosperous career, should have intruded into the thoughts, and disturbed the quiet of those most interested in his welfare.

In speaking of the circumstances which attended

the commencement of Astley Cooper's professional career, I have already mentioned some of the advantages peculiar to his residence with Mr. Cline. But I did not then allude to one important feature in this connexion—the high admiration entertained by Mr. Cline for John Hunter, and his strong and openly expressed conviction of the truth of his doctrines. Mr. Cline was one of the few who at the earliest period appreciated the views of that philosopher, and in the Hunterian oration which he delivered in 1824, sufficiently exhibited the estimation in which he then held them. When only twenty-four years of age, Mr. Cline attended a course of Hunter's lectures on surgery, and thus, in his oration, alludes to this circumstance:—

"I had the happiness of hearing the first course of lectures which John Hunter delivered. I had been at that time for some years in the profession, and was tolerably well acquainted with the opinions held by the surgeons most distinguished for their talents, then residing in the metropolis: but having heard Mr. Hunter's lectures on the subject of disease, I found them so far superior to everything I had conceived or heard before, that there seemed no comparison between the great mind of the man who delivered them, and all the individuals, whether ancient or modern, who had gone before him."

Had Mr. Cline not regarded John Hunter's philosophy with these favourable impressions, the influence which from their relative positions he neces-

sarily exerted on the mind of Astley Cooper, in the younger days of his pupilage, might have been a source of the most serious professional disadvantage to him.

It is to be lamented, however, that the benefits arising from Astley's intimacy with Mr. Cline were altogether limited to his professional prospects, for there was, unfortunately, one danger, to which this otherwise most desirable connection exposed him, and which exerted so baneful an influence on his mind, that it at one time threatened not only to counterbalance the advantages which I have described, but even to blast all his future success in life. This was the prevalence of principles in the mind of Mr. Cline, which brought him, not only into constant communication, but into the closest intimacy with such men as Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and, indeed, with all the chief of those who, glorying in the rise of the democratic spirit which at that time was spreading itself over Europe, were not only watching with interest the progress of the French Revolution, but were anticipating similar events with unconcealed anxiety of expectation in our own country. Nothing could have been more probable than that a young man of ardent and sanguine temper, like Astley Cooper, should be captivated by a set of opinions at variance with those of the stricter aristocratic school in which he had been educated; possessing to him, all the charms of novelty, freedom from restraint, and ostensibly having for their object a

state of social perfection which he had not then experience enough to determine to be altogether Utopian.

But far more to be lamented even than the above, was the influence of such men with respect to the sacred subject of religion, the principles and practice of which, it is notorious, were, if not ridiculed, at least disregarded by all the democrats of that period. From certain passages in his mother's letters, as well as from other sources, I have reason to believe that the effect of this influence was for a time no less conspicuous in his conversation, than the change in his political sentiments which we have already described. "Remember, my dear child," says Mrs. Cooper to him, after one of his visits to Yarmouth, "wherever you go, and whatever you do, that the happiness of your parents depends on the principles and conduct of their children. Remember, also, I entreat, and may your conversation be influenced by the remembrance, that there are subjects which ought always to be considered as sacred, and on no account to be treated with levity."

The friendship of Mr. Cline for Mr. Horne Tooke, and his estimation of his character and opinions, led him not only constantly to give him his professional services during life, which he did both when Mr. Tooke was confined in the Tower, and during his last illness, but even after Mr. Tooke's decease, induced him publicly to testify the feelings he had held towards him. For many years, an anniversary

dinner, a custom which is still maintained, was given by Mr. Cline to the friends and supporters of Mr. Tooke, at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, to commemorate the celebrated acquittal of that individual.

It cannot fail to be interesting to our readers to have some more minute account of the history of the distinguished surgeon with whom Sir Astley was about to reside, at that period one of the most scientific men of his day, and whose memory, living in the recollection of a few surviving friends and pupils, has for some time been all that has remained of him; for, like some other eminent surgeons whose names only are now remembered, he has not attempted to raise for himself a monument, which had he chosen he might readily have done, by leaving behind him a record of his opinions or the results of his long experience.

Mr. Cline was born A.D. 1750, and after having completed his school education at Merchant Taylors', he became an articled pupil to Mr. Smith, one of the surgeons of St. Thomas's hospital, in the year 1767. Mr. Else, then likewise a surgeon at the hospital, and also lecturer on anatomy, took early notice of Mr. Cline; saw a promise of that ability which secured to him the fame he afterwards so deservedly acquired, and appointed him to give part of the lectures with him. On the death of Mr. Else, Mr. Cline purchased his collection of preparations from the executors, and became sole lecturer on anatomy.

The following concise summary will perhaps afford to the reader a better idea of the character of Mr. Cline than any more elaborate account. It will not be the less acceptable, because it is the composition of one well skilled in the study of human nature, and of all others, in the present instance, the most capable of the task, his distinguished pupil whose history we are now attempting to elucidate. It occurs among some slight sketches of his contemporaries:—

"Mr. Cline was a man of excellent judgment, of great caution, of accurate knowledge; particularly taciturn abroad, yet open, friendly, and very conversationable at home.

"In surgery, cool, safe, judicious, and cautious; in anatomy, sufficiently informed for teaching and practice. He wanted industry and professional zeal, liking other things better than the study or practice of his profession.

"In politics a democrat, living in friendship with Horne Tooke*.

* Mr. Cline's name is mentioned in the following flattering manner, in the second part of the *Diversions of Purley*:—

"*B.*—What can you set up, in matter of language, against the decisive authority of such a writer as Horace?

"Usus,"

"Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi."

"*Horne Tooke.*—I do not think him any authority whatever upon this occasion. He wrote divinely: and so Vestris danced. But do you think our dear and excellent friend, Mr. Cline, would not give us a more satisfactory account of the influence and action, the power and properties of the nerves and muscles by which he

"In morals, thoroughly honest; in religion, a Deist.

"A good husband, son, and father.

"As a friend, sincere, but not active; as an enemy, most inveterate.

"He was mild in his manners, gentle in his conduct, humane in his disposition, but withal brave as a lion.

"His temper was scarcely ever ruffled.

"Towards the close of life he caught an ague, which lessened his powers of mind and body."

In another place mentioning Mr. Cline, Sir Astley speaks of him "as a man of great judgment, a slow and cautious operator, a moderate anatomist: politics and agriculture drew him from the contemplation of his profession, and thus afforded me afterwards great opportunities for writing and practice."

Such was the character of the preceptor in whose house Astley Cooper was for some time resident; and it is evident that in every respect as regarded his professional pursuits, no selection could have been more fortunate. But the absence of religious principles, and the tenor of his political creed, were so opposed to the habits of thought and conduct of Dr. and Mrs. Cooper, that they would have been sufficient, however large the amount of professional

performed such wonders, than Vestris could? who, whilst he used them with such excellence, did not, perhaps, know he had them. In this our inquiry, my dear Sir, we are not poets nor dancers, but anatomists."

advantage attending the connexion, to have prevented their consent to such a residence for their son. We can therefore only conclude that they were in ignorance of these circumstances, or at least, as to Mr. Cline's feelings on religious matters.

CHAPTER VI.

ASTLEY COOPER'S ARRIVAL IN LONDON. RESIDES WITH MR. CLINE. MR. FRANCIS TURNER, OF YARMOUTH. ASTLEY COOPER IN THE METROPOLIS. COMPARISON OF EVENTS IN THE PERSONAL HISTORIES OF JOHN HUNTER AND ASTLEY COOPER. ANECDOTE OF ASTLEY COOPER. ASTLEY COOPER ATTENDS LECTURES. IS ELECTED A MEMBER OF THE PHYSICAL SOCIETY. THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS IN THE SOCIETY AT THIS TIME. ASTLEY COOPER'S FIRST PROFESSIONAL ESSAY. HE BECOMES DESIROUS OF BEING TRANSFERRED AS ARTICLED PUPIL TO MR. CLINE. DR. ROOTS' ALLUSIONS TO THIS CIRCUMSTANCE. EXTRACTS FROM SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S MEMORANDA IN REFERENCE TO THIS PERIOD. IS TRANSFERRED TO MR. CLINE. ASTLEY'S INSTANT CHANGE OF CONDUCT. TERMINATION OF THE SESSION, AND THE PROFESSIONAL ADVANCEMENT MADE BY ASTLEY COOPER.

IMMEDIATELY on Astley Cooper's arrival in London, he took up his residence with Mr. Cline in Jefferies' Square, St. Mary Axe, in the same house in which he himself, some few years afterwards, began to practise. The delivery of lectures on Medicine and Surgery commenced then, as now, in the month of October. His coming to town some weeks prior to the opening of the session, was evidently arranged in order that he might have time to make himself acquainted with the routine of conduct at the hospitals before the business commenced, of the nature of which he was, in all probability, at this time entirely ignorant. It has been erroneously stated,

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that prior to his departure from Yarmouth, he was initiated into the practice of pharmacy and general medicine at the house of Mr. Francis Turner, an apothecary of that town. The mistake has in all probability arisen from the circumstance of his having subsequently, when visiting his father during the vacations at the hospital, sometimes engaged in pharmaceutical pursuits in the surgery of Mr. Turner, in order that he might not altogether lose sight of professional employment.

Having become domesticated in the house of Mr. Cline, notwithstanding the excellent example of that distinguished surgeon, he does not appear to have devoted himself to the acquisition of professional knowledge with any greater degree of zeal than he had previously bestowed on his literary studies, and, indeed, for a short time the fears of his friends which had accompanied him to London, appeared as if about to be realized. The same social qualities which had rendered his society so agreeable in Yarmouth, at once opened the way to an intimacy with young men of his own standing in London; and in their company he suffered himself to be led into those dissipations which the metropolis so readily afforded, and into which young men of his age and inexperience are too apt to be ensnared.

Here then, to every one acquainted with the personal history of John Hunter,—the man who of all men has adorned the science of surgery,—must occur the singularly curious resemblance betwixt

the leading incidents in the lives of these two great luminaries of our profession. Hunter's early dislike and neglect, so rarely exhibited in his country, of literary knowledge*; his early ambition showing itself, in the lead which he struggled for and gained, as "Jack Hunter," among his young companions in their pastimes and pursuits; and lastly, his dissipation on his first arrival in London;—form features in his history strikingly similar to that of Astley Cooper; not to speak yet, of the subsequent indefatigable zeal displayed by each in anatomical and other pursuits; their similarity in relying on themselves, neither of them studying the works of other surgical or medical writers; their temperate habits; and many other minor points, all of which tend to maintain the correspondence of their two characters. But at this early period of their lives, notwithstanding the similarity in outline which was exhibited in the career of each, the difference of disposition and feelings which characterized them was sufficiently manifest even in their dissipation:—for the more refined taste of Astley Cooper ever prevented him from finding pleasure in that coarse species of enjoyment, in which, in company with the lowborn and illiterate, John Hunter occasionally found delight.

He still preserved his fondness for adventure, and led on by this disposition, would occasionally

* It is recorded of John Hunter that, up to his seventeenth year, he passed his life without any improvement from education.

launch out into extravagances similar to those which had formerly rendered him notorious in Yarmouth, although never to such an extent as to bring them into any public notice in London. Occasionally those within his own immediate sphere became the subjects of these tricks, and an account of some of them has been preserved. Among them, the following is one which I have heard Sir Astley mention:—One day, he had obtained the uniform of an officer, and in this disguise was walking about town, when, on going along Bond Street, he suddenly observed his uncle, Mr. William Cooper, advancing towards him. Not having time to avoid meeting, he, with the utmost presence of mind, determined to brave out the affair, should his uncle recognise him. Mr. Cooper, divided between the familiar countenance and strange dress, for a few moments could not decide in his mind whether it was his nephew or not; but soon convinced that it was he, and this one of his pranks, he went up to him, and in an authoritative tone, commenced a somewhat angry address about his idleness and waste of time. Astley, regarding him with feigned astonishment, and changing his voice, replied, that he must be making some mistake, for he did not understand to whom or what he was alluding. "Why," said Mr. Cooper, "you don't mean to say that you are not my nephew, Astley Cooper?" "Really, sir, I have not the pleasure of knowing any such person. My name is ——— of the —th," replied the young scapegrace, naming,

with unflinching boldness, the regiment of which he wore the uniform. Mr. William Cooper apologized, although still unable to feel assured he was not being duped, and bowing, passed on.

Although, previous to the commencement of the lectures, Astley Cooper lost in the pursuit of pleasure those golden opportunities which his situation and the leisure time afforded him profitably to prepare for the approaching season of study, yet, when once those lectures began, he had too much good sense, although still occasionally indulging in frivolity, wholly to neglect the advantages they presented to him. But, his attention being thus distracted, he engaged in the study of his profession without any of that ardour and devotion, the absence of which, had it long continued, would have effectually prevented him achieving the celebrity which now honourably attaches to his name.

At the commencement of the session, he was proposed by his uncle, and elected a member of the Physical Society, the oldest and one of the most valuable and instructive institutions of its kind at that time in the metropolis. The object of this society was, to promote the interests and progress of science, more especially in the departments of medicine and surgery, by papers on scientific subjects, which were written in turn by the members, and read at weekly meetings, and by subsequent discussion upon them, as well as by communications and questions regarding cases then under treatment

in the hospital and elsewhere. At this period, A.D. 1784, the more frequent speakers in the discussions were Drs. Lettsom, Lister, Saunders, &c.; Messrs. Babington, Walshman, Cline, Haighton, Brooks, Foster, Stocker, and many others, nearly all of whom had taken, or subsequently took, a prominent position in the practice of their profession.

The entries in the books of the society, regarding the election of Astley Cooper, are the following:—

October 2nd, 1784. Dr. Saunders in the chair. Proposed as ordinary member, Mr. A. P. Cooper, at Mr. Cline's, by Mr. Cooper.

October 16th, 1784. Mr. Walshman in the chair. Mr. A. Cooper introduced as ordinary member.

At this period the rules of the society, which were very numerous, and extended over every part of its economy, were enforced with the utmost rigour, and any deviation on the part of a member was visited by the imposition of a fine, the amount of which varied according to the transgression. The trivial nature of some of these finable offences will be exhibited in the following amusing entry, which occurs in the minutes of the proceedings, on the Saturday following that on which Astley was admitted as a member.

October 23rd, 1784. Mr. Walshman in the chair. Messrs. Astley Cooper . . . . . , &c., fined 6*d.* each for leaving the room without permission of the president.

One of the most important regulations of the

society, was that which bound each new member to read an essay in the course of the session. The title of the paper, the subject of which was left to the author's choice, had to be handed in to the society on the evening of meeting following his introduction to the society as a member, under penalty of a fine. It is not a little curious that the subject which Astley Cooper fixed upon for his first professional essay, was malignant disease in the breast, or cancer, a subject which throughout his life continued especially to engage his attention, which the last work he presented to the public was intended to elucidate, and in the study and investigation of which he was earnestly occupied, when death put a termination to his labours.

It is not improbable that the imperfect and unsatisfactory manner in which Astley Cooper found this subject treated, in the course of his study preparatory for his essay, as well as the frequent occurrence of the disease itself and its fatal character, led him to perceive the want of further information respecting it. Thus, even at this early period, perhaps, was created in his mind the interest regarding this subject which subsequently urged him on to make those inquiries, which have already been attended with most beneficial consequences,—but which, had his life been spared, and his designs been permitted to be accomplished, would have furnished the world with results, such as few have had the opportunities he enjoyed of arriving at. Be this as it may, it is a sufficiently curious circumstance,

that, whether taken casually, or at the advice of Mr. Cline, or his uncle, Mr. Cooper, among the vast number of subjects open to him, he should have selected this, with which, perhaps more than any other, his name ever since has been most intimately associated. I had much curiosity to find this interesting document, but although a search was made for it, no trace of it could be found; the papers which were read at that time not having been, as they are now, preserved by the society.

Whether from not perceiving the value of the meetings of this society as he afterwards did, or that the discussions were deprived of their interest from the quantity of matter which would of necessity be unintelligible to him at this early period of his pupilage, Astley Cooper, does not appear to have taken, during this his first session, much interest in their proceedings. He very frequently, throughout the whole of the season, incurred the fine for non-attendance—a fact forming a remarkable contrast with the diligence which we shall have to show he exhibited during the following and succeeding sessions.

A few months after he had commenced his duties at the hospital, Astley Cooper became anxious to be transferred from his uncle to Mr. Cline, probably in consequence of the strict discipline of Mr. Cooper, who was not usually very lenient in matters of professional digression, and who perhaps, on the strength of consanguinity, as well as of professional relationship, exercised a more than usual authority over his

nephew and pupil. The talented conversation of Mr. Cline, his superior excellence as an operative surgeon, and more extensive practice, may also have been an inducement for him to desire this change.

The following extract from a letter addressed to me by my intimate friend Dr. William Roots, while it confirms the account given of the character of Mr. William Cooper, under whom Mr. Roots acted as dresser, explains the circumstances which led to the transfer alluded to.

"It was in the year 1799 that I dressed at Guy's Hospital for Sir Astley's uncle, Mr. William Cooper, the then much respected senior surgeon of that institution. And I think it right to offer my warm and grateful feelings to the memory of that excellent man, for the many instances of kindness and paternal attention I experienced at his hands.

"At that period Mr. William Cooper had in a great measure retired from the fag of private practice, and his greatest gratification and amusement consisted in his daily visits to the hospital, and the superintendence of his dressers, whose conduct and practice he most rigidly watched over and advised. Much advantage was derived to the discipline of the hospital itself, from its being the hobby and pleasure of this experienced man to be so continually within its walls; for although Mr. Cooper was never esteemed as a first-rate operator, there were very few surgeons of that day, who were thought to possess a more critical knowledge of their profession.

"Mr. Cooper was always very strict as to professional discipline, and invariably exhibited severe displeasure at any absence or neglect of duty on the part of the pupils: but yet, notwithstanding his rough and rather abrupt demeanour, he possessed a kind and generous disposition. He was an excellent classical scholar, and ever retained and cherished a fondness for polite literature. Well can I remember the pleasure he evinced one day, when, upon some accidental circumstance, it was my good fortune to make an appropriate classical quotation, and the gratification I experienced when, the next morning on meeting me in the ward of the hospital, in the presence of all the students, he presented me with a handsome edition of the author I had used: a book, which to this moment I set the highest value upon.

"It is impossible to reflect on the early period of Sir Astley's life, without thus calling to mind his uncle William; for, although they did not exactly set their horses well together, and although the greater part of his pupilage had been made over to Mr. Cline at the other hospital, yet Mr. Cooper never failed to speak highly of the abilities and good qualities of his nephew. It is well known that Astley was always a great favourite in society; his countenance and manner carrying with him universally a letter of strong recommendation; and it is true, that in the early period of his professional studies he in some degree gave way to the freaks and indis-

cretions of a fine young man: and some of these indulgences called forth the animadversions of his sedate uncle, and were indeed the principal cause of his being made over to Mr. Cline. Yet on a sudden, and as if when he first found the superior footing his abilities had given him, he applied most rigidly to study, &c."

We need not look for any very marked failings on the one hand, or extremely rigorous treatment on the other, to account for this separation; for, in addition to the influence which the superior fame of Mr. Cline undoubtedly exerted on the mind of Astley Cooper in this determination, we know how rare it is to find family arrangements of this nature succeed in the objects intended: each party from his consanguinity expecting more of the other—the one more kindness and attention, the other more submission—than would be looked for had they been mutually strangers prior to their professional connexion.

The reader may feel curious to know what Sir Astley Cooper himself says of this period of his life in the memoranda, with the history of which he is already familiar. His notice, however, is so very brief, that were it not for certain interesting descriptions of those with whom he was associated at this early period of his residence with Mr. Cline, we should think it hardly worth alluding to. These are, however, too important to be passed over.

"But now a new scene opened. I was sent to

London to my uncle Mr. William Cooper, surgeon of Guy's hospital, and to live with Mr. Cline, being an articled pupil of the former. For six months I was very idle, but I lived with a Mr. Johnson, from Derby, who was a gentleman, a scholar, and addicted to botany, but of no great talent. However he gave me a turn for instructive pursuits. I was also with a Mr. C——n, from Burford, who was a house pupil of Mr. Cline, a coxcomb, indolent and ignorant, whom I soon learned to despise; and as Johnson was dull and C——n indifferent to knowledge, Mr. Cline generally addressed himself to me. A Mr. C——r, of Rochester, also lived with us, who was fond of his profession, but a presuming man, and who punctured the brachial artery in bleeding. The conversation of these men improved me: the indolence of C——n and his gold-laced waistcoats, made him our laughing-stock,—C——r promised too much to be always right,—Johnson was always a gentleman. I who was quick and lively, was a favourite with the family, especially with Mr. Cline's mother, a highly informed and reading woman, and with her I spent many hours. After six months I was articled as pupil to Mr. Cline, and now I began to go into the dissecting room and to acquire knowledge, although in a desultory way, &c."

Astley Cooper was transferred to Mr. Cline at Christmas, 1784, and it must at once appear, from what has already been stated, that this change in his position, according as it did with his own

wishes, was in every way beneficial to his future prospects. Indeed, he seems at once to have thrown aside his idleness, and all those trifling pursuits which had seduced him from his studies; and, at the same time appears earnestly to have devoted himself to the acquirement of professional knowledge, as well by diligent labour in the dissecting-room, as by serious attention to the lectures on anatomy and other subjects then going forward in the hospital.

Mr. Bransby Cooper, in writing to me, says, that he was informed by his brother, Sir Astley, that Mr. Cline one day, about this time, brought home an arm, and throwing it on a table in his private dissecting-room, desired Astley to dissect it; and that, having devoted all his powers, bodily and mental, to the task, he succeeded in performing it, no less to Mr. Cline's than to his own satisfaction; he further states, that hence first began that devoted attachment to his profession, and that ardent love of anatomy which ever afterwards characterized him. But this is a circumstance so curious, that Sir Astley, brief as his account of himself is, would most probably have left some slight record of it, had it occurred; it is, indeed, so precisely similar to what is said to have happened between Dr. William Hunter and his brother John, soon after the arrival of the latter in London, that we must conclude Sir Astley related the story to his brother Bransby, of John Hunter and not of himself. But

whether anything of this sort occurred or not, certain it is that in the spring of the following year, 1785, such had been his diligence, that he grew to be as distinguished for his industry as he had formerly been notorious for wasting his time, and, moreover, attained a degree of proficiency in anatomical knowledge, far beyond that possessed by any other of the pupils of his own standing in the hospital.

CHAPTER VII.

ASTLEY COOPER VISITS YARMOUTH. ANECDOTE. HIS SECOND SESSION AT THE HOSPITAL. DEVOTES HIMSELF TO THE STUDY OF ANATOMY. ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM THIS PURSUIT. MR. HAIGHTON, MR. CLINE'S DEMONSTRATOR AT THIS PERIOD. NATURE OF THIS OFFICE. HISTORY OF MR. HAIGHTON. DR. WILLIAM ROOTS' CONNECTION WITH MR. HAIGHTON. ASTLEY COOPER IS APPLIED TO FOR ASSISTANCE BY THE STUDENTS. BECOMES A GREAT FAVOURITE AMONG THEM. INFLUENCE OF THIS UPON HIS CONDUCT AND PROSPECTS. REPUTATION FULLY ESTABLISHED AT THE HOSPITAL. THE PHYSICAL SOCIETY. THE NEWS OF HIS SUCCESS REACHES HOME. HE DEPARTS FOR THE SUMMER TO YARMOUTH.

THERE is not sufficient evidence to prove, at the conclusion of this his first winter session, which had thus successfully terminated for a time the hospital duties of Astley Cooper, whether he remained in London with Mr. Cline, or paid a visit to his family at Yarmouth. But as it seems to have been his constant practice during the other years of his pupilage, we can scarcely doubt that he went home this summer, if only for the purpose of receiving the most genuine of all rewards,—the expression of his parents' satisfaction at the favourable change in his conduct. A further reason to believe that he paid this visit, arises from our knowledge, that in the summer season there was, at this period

of Astley Cooper's pupilage, but little to induce him to remain in London; no summer lectures, as now, being then delivered at the hospitals, and the practice of the hospital being only useful to one more advanced in the science of his profession than he could at that time have been. And moreover, as we have no letters from his mother, expressive of regret at his being prevented visiting his family, we have further right to conclude that he spent this summer at Yarmouth.

I have often heard Sir Astley relate the following anecdote, but do not remember hearing him mention the date of its occurrence; as, however, his indulgence in practical jocularities yielded about this period to more serious pursuits, it most probably occurred about this time. It well exemplifies his readiness of invention, and that tact which he was well known as a boy eminently to possess, in escaping out of any difficult position in which circumstances might suddenly place him.

One day, when Mr. Turner the apothecary was in the surgery, giving orders to one of the apprentices, Astley Cooper, who was standing behind him, attempted to excite laughter in the apprentice, by twisting his face into various grimaces, and practising other antics. The disturbance which soon followed in the apprentice's features caught the notice of Mr. Turner, who quickly turning round in the apparent direction of its cause, discovered Astley Cooper in the midst of the employment abovementioned; and seemingly in extreme astonishment at his strange behaviour, at

once, with eagerness, inquired its cause. Astley, without exhibiting any signs of discomposure, or ceasing to make the contortions in which he was detected, returned no answer to the inquiry but an exclamation, in a tone of much distress, of "Oh! my tooth! my tooth!" "God bless me! let me see," said Mr. Turner; and on the instant removing young Cooper's hand from his cheek, and forcibly opening his mouth, with a hasty remark, he whipped in a pair of forceps, and to the amusement of the astonished apprentice, before Astley had time to recover himself or explain the deception, had wrenched out one of his double teeth. The tooth which Mr. Turner thus extracted was decayed, and so, not thinking it worth while making any explanation, Cooper merely expressed himself much relieved, and thanked his benefactor. Sir Astley used to say, however, that he never could determine in his own mind whether it was not intended as a punishment for the interruption he had made, or whether, believing him really in earnest, Mr. Turner had, in pity for his supposed sufferings, displayed such activity in applying the remedy.

In October, 1785, Astley Cooper was again at his post, and at once entered into the more active duties of his studies, with a diligence which must lead to the belief, that whether his summer had been passed in London or in Yarmouth, he had deeply considered the road which he meant to pursue for his future advancement.

We now find him devoting himself with the most

earnest activity to the acquisition of a knowledge of anatomy,—one of the most valuable departments of study to which the younger student can devote himself, and without a thorough knowledge of which, professional practice, whether in the hands of the surgeon or physician, can be little better than mere empiricism. The intense application which Astley Cooper devoted to this pursuit, in the early years of his pupilage, was not only useful, inasmuch as it furnished him with a correct knowledge of the structure of the human frame,—the form and situation of its various parts,—and the varieties in position to which they are occasionally liable;—but it paved the way for those numerous discoveries made by him in "pathological anatomy," which have already been, and must continue to be, the sources of so many advantages in the practice of our profession.

There can be but little doubt, that, either from the instruction or example of Mr. Cline, or from his own sagacity, Astley Cooper even at this early period foresaw the importance of the professional advantages with which this course of study was likely to be attended; at the same time, he may also have perceived that distinction in this pursuit, more than in any other branch of his profession, offered opportunities for obtaining a fixed position in the hospital to which he was now attached by his connexion with Mr. Cline. Various circumstances contributed to press this idea upon his observation at this time, but none, perhaps, more than the want of courtesy

of Mr. Haighton, who then held the office of demonstrator in the dissecting-room, and the fact that there was no one, should he resign his situation, or change it for any other in the institution, so competent to fulfil its duties, or possessed of so much influence to obtain it as himself. Sir Astley, in allusion to his position at this period, with regard to Dr. Haighton, then Mr. Haighton, observes: "I was a great favourite with the students, because I was affable, and showed that I was desirous of communicating what information I could, while Dr. Haighton was the reverse of this."

It may, perhaps, for the sake of those not acquainted with the economy of institutions of this nature, be desirable to say a few words regarding the important duties of the Demonstrator, the first public professional capacity in which anatomical teachers of this country are engaged. There is scarcely any science, in the early study of which constant advice is so much required as in that of anatomy. The textures which it is the business of the young anatomist to unravel, are so delicate and complicated,—the filaments composing them so fine, and yet so important, that in following them from their sources to their places of destination, and tracing their various connexions, he is constantly in danger of overlooking or destroying some, and becoming bewildered in the investigation and pursuit of others. To direct and render assistance to the inexperienced student under these difficulties, it is the custom for one or more accomplished ana-

tomists, *Demonstrators* as they are styled, to be constantly at hand.

In one of Sir Astley Cooper's diaries, written during a tour through France, occurs the following note, which sufficiently shows his opinion of the necessity of this arrangement:—

"*Sunday, October 12th*, 1834.

"Went with Mr. Fisher to ——, and saw there the places for dissection, four *salles* of great magnitude, two of which had numerous bodies in them. The price is from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 francs, according as they have been opened or not. A large garden is attached, in which the students can walk, when they are fatigued. Yet it is badly managed, for the young men have no one to stand over them, and constantly instruct them in the best mode of dissection, or to demonstrate what they lay bare. In short, the young men form themselves into parties of three, *one dissecting, one reading*, and the *other tracing*."

It is quite true that great benefit arises from the presence of an experienced anatomist in a dissecting room, to assist in unravelling the various intricacies which must involve the tyro in almost inextricable difficulty; but yet, on the other hand, I have known nearly an equal objection arise from the constant presence of one who has it in his power so much to facilitate the progress of the idle, they being too apt to adopt this shorter path to their object, and

thereby avoid the necessity of manipulating for themselves. It requires, therefore, that the person so employed should be judicious in the assistance which he affords, taking care that he does no more than merely assist, when a real difficulty occurs, without himself performing the task which belongs properly to the pupil.

At this period, Mr. Haighton held this office under Mr. Cline, who was giving the lectures on anatomy, and in consequence of the comparatively few number of students, and the less amount of study then devoted to the science, was the only demonstrator in the room.

Mr. Haighton, who was considerably Astley Cooper's senior, had been a pupil of Mr. Else, one of the surgeons of the hospital in conjunction with Mr. Cline. I cannot furnish the reader with a more just, and, at the same time, more vivid account of Haighton's character and position, than by again quoting from the communication of my excellent friend Dr. Roots, who was for four years a resident pupil in the house of Dr. Haighton.

Dr. Roots says, "I recollect most perfectly many anecdotes and details of Dr. Haighton's early troubles and difficulties, which he would relate with all the fire of his natural impetuosity. He not only described to me, but showed me all the correspondence that had taken place between himself and John Hunter, wherein the latter having found out the very excellent anatomical as well as

physiological qualities that Haighton possessed, wished to engage him in a sort of co-partnership in his lectures and anatomical arrangements; and this communication arose, as I learned from Haighton, in consequence of some jealous feeling at that time beginning to manifest itself in HOME* quarters. However, it was only after a long series of discussions and protocols had existed that all further communication between these two eminent men was broken off, and from what I can recollect, it chiefly arose from a feeling of mortification in Dr. Haighton's mind that he must, in consequence of such junction or co-partnership, be considered as only the assistant or second-best of John Hunter.

"Nobody knew the doctor more intimately or accurately than myself, and I sometimes feel a gratification in remembering that, during the whole period of my being under his roof, I never incurred

* In explanation of this allusion, Dr. Roots afterwards sent to me the following remarks:—"You mistake me about my allusions, in a former letter, to the mention of 'HOME' suspicions (as regards Sir Everard): I meant that Haighton had originally the full intention, as well as wish, of being ultimately taken in as joint lecturer with Cline in his anatomical class; and from what I have heard him say, I think he foreboded, if not subsequently found, that the prospects of Astley Cooper would prove the chief obstacle to these his expectant wishes. Whether he was in negotiation with John Hunter prior or subsequent to this disappointment, I cannot take upon myself to say for a certainty, though the impression on my mind is, that on finding the door shut to succeeding as a subordinate to Cline, he was most anxious to enter with force into a rival school."

his displeasure; and, at the termination of my residence with him, he declared, in strong terms, 'he was sorry to part with me,' which I always esteem as a feather in my cap. Dr. Haighton was of a suspicious, irritable, and unbending nature, but possessed of integrity to the greatest degree; most susceptible of any imaginary slight or neglect, the very shadow of which would rouse him to a pitch of the greatest acrimony hardly ever to be forgotten, and this feeling would be brought forth from very trifling causes.

"I remember a strong instance of this nature, when, from his having been called upon and requested by Dr. William Saunders to aid him in his well-known Treatise on the Liver, by some accurate dissections and experiments, Saunders either forgot, or did not think it necessary to acknowledge in the body of his work how much he was indebted to Dr. Haighton for his elaborate assistance, but merely mentioned his name in rather an abrupt way in a marginal note. The very sight of this book in after times would call forth as much irritation and annoyance, as if the offence had been of a much more serious moment and recent period of occurrence.

"Dr. Haighton was a very good lecturer, and particularly so in his physiology; and in the operative department of his obstetrical practice, he was '*haud ulli secundus.*' I think he never ceased to regret that he failed in his negociations with Hunter, and often, when mentioning the subject to me, I got rid

of it by saying, 'Two luminaries could not have shone in the same sphere.'

"Haighton always thought he was ill used by Hunter, and I now think that it was only the turn of a straw that prevented their alliance, as the amount of pecuniary advances had been almost complied with, but were suddenly broken off, and he generally expressed a feeling of regret that this circumstance had been the cause of his taking up the walk in which he subsequently trod so ably. Anatomy and operative surgery were his natural forte, and the point to which his inclination led him. But there were *young* and *growing* reasons for him to seek a path less congenial perhaps to his mind, but where least obstruction would be offered to his aspiring wishes.

"The young, the handsome, the then assiduous Astley Cooper, with every advantage attending his excellent abilities, as also his strong position at the united hospitals, rose up in bright array against any intended project of Dr. Haighton, and although, from the difference of their ages, it might not have been supposed that the doctor would have shrunk from the conflict, yet he knew too well, and saw too clearly that the evident chances were against him."

The following curious account by the same gentleman, of the means by which he gained the friendship and confidence of his talented preceptor, will serve to throw a further light on the character of Dr. Haighton, a knowledge of which is necessary, in

order to understand many of the circumstances in which he and Sir Astley Cooper were mutually concerned at this period.

"I was in perfect intimacy and confidence with Haighton; indeed, I had gained, perhaps by a natural air of hilarity and nonchalance, an ascendancy over him, that sometimes astonished those who had been much longer acquainted with him. Now it so happened that just before my entry into Dr. Haighton's house, I had heard that he had been much disgusted with my predecessor, arising from his quiet, tame, and acquiescing nature; and his never having offered the slightest contradiction to his opinions, and that he had vowed he would never subject himself again to the society of an inanimate being. In fact, Dr. Haighton's life and soul depended upon argument and the gratification he enjoyed in confuting his opponent. Amongst many other anecdotes that met my ear, just prior to becoming his house pupil, I heard and listened with attention to the fact,—that sitting one day at dinner with his former pupil, and not meeting in the course of conversation with any sort of opposing remark from him, which I rather think he had been courting, he jumped up from his seat, and in the most vehement manner cried out, '*For once in your life, sir, do for God's sake contradict me, and support an opinion of your own.*'

"Now, having been put into possession of this failure in his former pupil, (though I am at the present moment most ready to yield to him the supe-

riority in his amiable deportment,) from that very moment I made up my mind not to fall into a similar error, and from the period I entered Dr. Haighton's house, until the last hour when I left it, I was in the constant and studious habit of contradicting everything he said; and I am convinced that the high opinion, and I may say regard I established in his mind, arose chiefly from the regular system of contradiction, and the frequent opportunities I gave him thereby, of showing his superior powers in argument. Frequently was I put to my last trump, to come out of the battle with anything like flying colours. One of these vain attempts I well recollect. He was speaking on some particular subject, when he described its appearance as of a DEAD WHITE colour, and I, begging his pardon, asserted that it was evidently ROSE-COLOURED! He got very warm in proportion to my assertion, and in the heat of the moment, he told me, 'I must know that my opinion could not be borne out by truth, or by any ocular demonstration;' and when in a quiet way, I replied that it was the WHITE ROSE I meant, and that I would get a specimen directly from Chelsea, to compare the difference with his DEAD WHITE, I thought he would have gone into a state of frenzy; for he saw too clearly that it was not from ignorance that I thwarted his statement, and he could not bear even this poor shadow of an adverse view, founded as it was upon a shallow quibble.

"I generally had to bear the brunt of Haighton's angry replies; but with it all I must confess that I

derived considerable advantage by this general system of opposition, I mean particularly in a professional point of view, for it always drew forth from him such clear and earnest endeavours to prove and support his own excellent judgment, that the more I thwarted him, the more clearly did he show me the fallacy of my pretended contradiction. Some time after I had been an inmate of his house, the same friend who had warned me of his dislike to a tame companion, asked him how he liked his new pupil, meaning myself; his answer was, 'Why, compared with the last he is very far better, but the fellow is just as much in the opposite extreme; if you were to put the two into a bag and shake them well together, they would both come out excellent.' Nevertheless, I am confident that my system of contradiction, though in a great measure put on, was a constant source of gratification to him, and furnished a means of drawing off his irritability in a gradual way, and thus acted as a safety-valve to his impetuous temper."

The peculiar temper of Mr. Haighton and the circumstances so well described in Dr. Roots' letter, appear to have induced a degree of repulsiveness in his manner, which frequently prevented the students applying to him for assistance. Astley Cooper, in consequence of this circumstance, and from the character which he was gaining among them, as well by his constant attendance in the dissecting-room, as by his diligent application while there, came to be referred to now and then, as well for manual

assistance as advice, instead of Dr. Haighton. The extent of knowledge which he displayed on these occasions and the facility with which he communicated it to others, the affability of his manners and his readiness in tendering assistance, together with the superior position which he held among the students, from his connexion with Mr. Cline, by degrees led to these appeals for his aid becoming more and more frequent, and to his being considered as it were a second demonstrator in the room: while at the same time, from this and his other kindly qualities, he became the established favourite of all the pupils. He continued, during this and part of the following winter sessions, to make himself similarly useful, until at last, from the amount of time which it occupied, the disturbance caused to his own more advanced pursuits by the crowded state of the room, and the influx of new students attracted by the fame of Mr. Cline, he was compelled to pursue his own dissections in private. But even then he still visited the dissecting-room during the day, and assisted those who might be anxious for his aid.

The time thus spent was by no means unprofitably employed, but on the contrary was a source of much improvement to him; for in disentangling the difficulties of others brought on by careless manipulation or heedless dissection, he was brought constantly to think more closely than his fellow-students, who merely took ordinary notice of what came under their observation in the

course of dissection. At the same time, he became acquainted with many occasional varieties in the natural distribution of parts, and acquired a degree of manual dexterity in the use of the scalpel, which proved not merely of advantage to him in the dissection of the dead, but a source of essential service afterwards in operations on the living. In his earliest published essay, to which we shall hereafter refer, one of the most interesting facts he describes is stated to have come before his notice in consequence of a pupil seeking his assistance in the formation of an anatomical preparation. But these appeals had also a more important influence upon him,—one affecting his general conduct, and materially promoting the rapid progress which he made at this time,—for he has frequently observed that, being thus applied to by his fellow-students, was so gratifying to his feelings of ambition, from the superiority which the application acknowledged, that he was constantly excited to increased exertion as well to maintain, as to enlarge the influence which he had obtained.

Being thus called upon spontaneously by the pupils to assist them in their dissections, and proving by his ready concession to their wishes, that he had both the knowledge and industry requisite to facilitate their labours, he at once, at so early a period as his second winter session, established a reputation, which, conjoined with the other circumstances to which we have alluded, made him sought after by

his fellow pupils as their demonstrator, and afterwards procured him, immediately on the office becoming vacant, the offer of this desirable position.

Having by these pursuits in the dissecting-room rendered himself an efficient anatomist, he now began to feel the advantage of attending Mr. Cline on his visits to the wards in the hospital. He seems to have examined the cases, and watched their progress with a scrutinizing curiosity, closely following up those which were unsuccessful to their post mortem examination, that he might ascertain whether or not he had been correct in the opinions he had previously formed. He now also began to make notes of Mr. Cline's cases, and soon became remarkable for quickly detecting their leading points, and the analogies which existed between them.

Notwithstanding the neglect which he had exhibited during his first winter at the hospital to the Physical Society, still he had established at the conclusion of the session such a character for industry and general acquirements, that, at the first meeting of the Society this year, he was chosen one of the managing committee, and the records of this period sufficiently testify how earnestly he devoted himself to its interest and welfare. In the preceding winter, between October 16th, the day on which he was introduced as a member, and January 28th, when the Society separated for the summer, although its meetings were only held once in each week, we find him suffering the penalty for absence

no less than fifteen times; while this session, during the same period, there was only one evening in which he was not present at their meeting.

Indeed, there does not seem to have been a duty left un-performed in this his second session, occupation in his profession being now the evident result, not merely of impulse from motives of duty, but of choice and inclination. Instead of his position and conduct exciting alarm lest he should fail to acquire sufficient knowledge to fit him for the practice of his profession, the only feelings now called forth were those of pride and satisfaction from his friends at home, and of congratulation from his teachers and acquaintance at the hospital. In the month of April, his mother, with feelings of delight, thus expresses her anticipation of his return to Yarmouth:—"I look forward to the time of our meeting with the utmost pleasure. When do you think you shall be able to come down, and how long to stay with us? Your dear father and I were much delighted at the return of your uncle's kindness to you, and hope it will continue uninterrupted; we are happy in finding that you are so much disposed to cultivate it, and so deserving his and every one's regard."

This meeting took place in the month of May, immediately after the conclusion of the session, and must have been attended with mutual gratification to both parties—Astley, on the one hand, returning with the full consciousness of having prosecuted his studies in a manner no less satisfactory to his preceptors than advantageous to himself;—his

parents, on the other hand, receiving him with a welcome, not merely proportionate to his acquirements and established industry of character, but rendered still more hearty from the circumstance that at a period, comparatively little remote, they had entertained suspicions of a very different result. I reserve some incidents, which occurred during this visit, for consideration in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

ASTLEY COOPER'S OCCUPATIONS AT YARMOUTH DURING THE SUMMER OF 1786. IMPRESSION MADE ON HIS PARENTS BY HIS CONDUCT. MR. HOLLAND'S COMMUNICATION. ASTLEY COOPER'S VISITS TO MR. FRANCIS TURNER. THE HISTORY OF THIS GENTLEMAN. RETURNS TO LONDON WITH MR. HOLLAND. ASTLEY COOPER'S SUPERIOR ANATOMICAL KNOWLEDGE. OCCUPATIONS IN THE PRIVATE DISSECTING-ROOM AT MR. CLINE'S. REMARKS ON OPERATING UPON LIVING ANIMALS. SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S ACCOUNT OF HIS FELLOW-PUPILS, AND THEIR CHARACTERS. ATTENDS JOHN HUNTER'S LECTURES. ASTLEY COOPER IS ATTACKED WITH THE GAOL-FEVER. BENJAMIN GREGSON. VISITS YARMOUTH.

ONE of the chief objects of this chapter is to give to our readers an account of the manner in which Astley Cooper employed his time during his summer visit to Yarmouth in 1786; and I believe that design will be best accomplished by selecting passages from a letter written to him by his mother immediately upon his return to London.

As refers to the personal history of my uncle, there perhaps will be no point in the whole Memoir of greater biographical interest, than the indications here presented of the altered condition of his mind since his previous visit to Yarmouth; a change so evident to his parents and friends, that his mother dwells affectionately on the pleasing impressions he had left upon their minds at their late meeting. It appears that, during his absence from

town, he did not pass his time in mere recreation, since from his attendance at Mr. Turner's; his occasionally seeing patients; his intimacy with the scientific Dr. Aikin; and professional conversations with his friend Mr. Holland; a great portion of this visit must have been most usefully employed, in a manner, not only to be valued from the real quantity of information he acquired, but also from the evidence it offered of his desire for the society of literary and scientific men.

Mrs. Cooper writes:—"I cannot express the delight you gave your father and me, my dearest Astley, by the tenderness of your attentions, and the variety of your attainments. You seem to have improved every moment of your time, and to have soared not only beyond our expectations, but to the utmost height of our wishes. How much did it gratify me to observe the very great resemblance in person and mind you bear to your angelic sister! The same sweet smile of complacency and affection, the same ever wakeful attention to alleviate pain and to communicate pleasure! Heaven grant that you may as much resemble her in every Christian grace, as you do in every moral virtue. * * *

"You left Celsus behind you, but I will send it with your purse next week. Mr. Crompton particularly desired his most friendly regards. We have a quack doctor, an oculist, just arrived in his coach, with two servants,—his name Utrecht: it seems your electrical patient was under his care at Norwich, and that he attempted to force a piece of

iron under her fingers, to oppose the contraction; as soon as he arrived here, however, she sent him word she was entirely cured, by *Mr. Astley Cooper*. Howlet's ancle is, I hope, as much better as can be expected. Dear Nancy gains strength daily, I thank God. She has walked two or three afternoons in 'the trees,' and drank tea with us in the parlour. She hopes very soon to be able to get on horseback.

"Friday. We have been made happy by the assurance your letter conveys of your safe arrival. You say nothing of your ancle: I hope it is better, and that it will soon be healed. In your hurry of writing you omitted any mention of Mr. Crompton. I therefore did not show him your letter, as I knew the omission would have hurt him. We were much diverted by your account of the pusillanimous boaster; yet could not help pitying him whilst under the influence of fears which were very natural, though derogatory from the courage he assumed. * * *

"Your dear father incloses a 10*l.* note, and joins me and the whole family in the kindest love to you, and compliments to Mr. Cline's family. I feel attached to them for their regard to you. I have written a long letter; you will not expect me to be a frequent correspondent, but may depend on my ever being,

"Your tenderly affectionate Mother,

"M. S. COOPER."

"Mr. Gregson has broken from prison, and not been retaken. May he make a proper use of his

liberty! Should you be able to get a 4th volume of *Johnson's Shakespear*, would you send it as soon as possible?

"Once more adieu! my dearest Astley."

As the Mr. Gregson mentioned in the postscript to Mrs. Cooper's letter will again come before the notice of the reader, I shall not dwell upon his history at present.

I am enabled, however, to give a more detailed account than the above, of his occupations during this summer, from an interesting communication which I have received from Mr. Holland, of Knutsford, a gentleman who, both during this visit to Yarmouth, and afterwards at Mr. Cline's, was an intimate associate and friend of Sir Astley Cooper. The reader will perceive that this letter removes all doubt concerning the nature of the connexion of Sir Astley Cooper with Mr. Turner, of Yarmouth.

"* * * * In the summer of 1786, I was on a visit to my excellent friend the late Dr. Aikin, who was at that time resident in Great Yarmouth, and was practising as a physician there. He spoke to me in high terms of your uncle, who had then not completed his eighteenth year, and predicted that he would become eminent in his profession. He introduced us to each other, and we soon became intimate friends. Two years before—if I rightly recollect—your uncle had been articled to Mr. Cline for seven years, with a condition attached to this, that he should, if he wished it, be allowed to pass one winter of the time in Edinburgh.

"When I first knew him at Yarmouth, he was staying at his father's, the Rev. Dr. Cooper, the vicar of Great Yarmouth, where he was permitted to remain till the recommencement of the lectures in London in the beginning of October. During the first months of his visit he was very much at Mr. Francis Turner's, an apothecary, with a view of gaining a knowledge of pharmacy: but this was solely by the permission of Mr. Turner, who wished to show kindness to your uncle, for he was in no way engaged to him."

The history of this gentleman is sufficiently curious to warrant a place in these Memoirs.

Mr. Turner was in some measure connected with Sir Astley Cooper; his brother, Mr. Richard Turner, having married Miss Rede, a sister of my mother. Mr. Francis Turner was by inheritance independent of his profession, and also married a lady of considerable fortune. He was endowed with excellent abilities, acquired great fame as a surgeon and apothecary, and indeed was the only person of his profession in Yarmouth competent to perform operations in surgery, which he always undertook with much avidity. He was consequently called upon to act in all cases in his neighbourhood which required surgical assistance, and indeed, his practice extended to Lowestoff, Beccles, and other towns in the vicinity.

When Sir Edmund Lacon, the grandfather of the present baronet, was mayor of the town of Yarmouth, some disturbances took place, and certain

rioters were imprisoned in the gaol. A mob collected with the determination of setting these persons at liberty, upon which Mr. Turner took a very active part in attempting to maintain the authority of the law. During his exertions he received a severe blow on the head, inflicted by one of the ruffians with one of the wooden palings which had been placed so as more securely to defend the doorway of the prison. Mr. Turner having been assisted home, it was found, upon examination, that the bone of the skull was laid bare, but was apparently unbroken. He was, however, much alarmed; declared that he could not survive the accident, and sank into a state of despondency, which was soon attended by indigestion, and all the aggravated symptoms of dyspepsia. He remained in this state for two years, continually insisting that his illness was the effect of a portion of bone having been depressed at the time of the accident, and that his weakened powers of assimilation were attributable to the irritation of the brain, consequent on the same cause. Astley's uncle, Mr. William Cooper, at this period paid a visit to Yarmouth, and at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Turner, removed with a trephine a small portion of bone from that part of the head on which the blow had been received. The bone was found to be perfectly healthy, nor did the coverings of the brain show any indications of injury.

As might be supposed, Mr. Turner derived no benefit from the operation, and he continued to become more and more emaciated, unable to retain

any food on his stomach, until at last he sank, completely exhausted. During the last twelve months of his life, Mr. Borrett, of Yarmouth, who was then his apprentice, informs me that he lived almost entirely upon nuts, Mr. Turner stating that he was unable to digest any other solid food. He was examined after death, and his liver was found so much diseased as readily to account for all his symptoms. Indeed, none of the medical men of his acquaintance at any time believed that he was suffering from injury of the brain, but nothing could divert him from the conviction with which he had been impressed. Dr. Girdlestone was at this time an eminent physician at Yarmouth, and, as is well known, was much addicted to the employment of calomel in his practice. Against this drug, as well as against Dr. Girdlestone himself, Mr. Turner had always considerable prejudice, and he therefore on this occasion did not consult the doctor, whose remedy might have been of most essential service to the sufferer. The portion of bone which Mr. William Cooper removed, was worn by Mrs. Turner about her neck until the period of her death, which did not take place until nearly forty years after the loss of her husband.

Mr. Holland having described the circumstances under which Astley Cooper was connected with Mr. Turner, thus proceeds with his narrative:—"Our intimacy increased, scarcely a day passing without our being much together. In our walks, which we took either on the jetty or on the shore, we dis-

cussed together, as youths of our age were likely to do, the immediate objects of our studies: anatomy, physiology, and surgery were his favourite subjects; and I always gained much information in my various conversations with him. I occasionally dined with him at the Rectory; and in the person of your grandmother have the recollection of one of the most agreeable persons with whom I have ever had the pleasure of being acquainted.

"As I was to pass the next winter in London, he expressed a wish that I should, if possible, become an inmate with him in the house of Mr. Cline. He wrote to Mr. Cline on the subject, and through his influence, and that of Dr. Aikin, this was arranged. Towards the close of September, we travelled together to London, staying one day at Norwich, that we might see Brooke, a village, if I remember rightly, five or six miles from that city, and the place of his ancestors. We then proceeded to town, in one of the old heavy coaches, through Diss and Essex, without anything occurring to give interest to our journey, and took up our abode at Mr. Cline's, No. 12, St. Mary Axe.

"The various lectures at St. Thomas' and Guy's were to commence in a few days afterwards, and Astley and I took tickets for several of them; but those to which his attention was almost exclusively directed were the lectures on anatomy and surgery. These were at that time given together as one subject by Mr. Cline, whose perspicuity rendered them particularly interesting.

"We passed much of the remainder of the day in the common dissecting-room, and I, though I had attended several anatomical courses before, and was more than two years Astley's senior, derived the greatest advantage from his superior anatomical knowledge, and that assistance which he was always most ready to give. Mr. Cline's class now became so large as to crowd and make the dissecting-room uncomfortable from the numbers frequenting it. Astley disliked this: and as he was now anxious not merely to examine and study what was already known, but also to explore more deeply for himself, he suggested that we should have our subjects brought to Mr. Cline's house, which was not in a parallel line with the street, but stood several yards back, having a court leading up to it. The room Astley and I occupied was in the front of the house, with only one window in it, and this not overlooked from any windows opposite. Here we carried on our dissections without interruption, and all went on smoothly, till one day when we were busily engaged with a subject on the table, we saw, on accidentally looking up, several men on the roof of the house before us, who were there to repair the slates, and having seen us, were eagerly watching our operations. At the time I am speaking of, a mob was readily collected in the streets of the metropolis, there not being, as now, an efficient police; and, therefore, having been so closely watched in our proceedings by the men on the roof, we thought it prudent to convey our subject into a more private

part of the house. Here we let it remain till the men were gone away. This circumstance made us a little more guarded, and therefore we converted our sitting-room into a dissecting-room through the remainder of the winter.

"During this time, Astley, who was always eager to add to our anatomical and physiological knowledge, made a variety of experiments on living animals. I recollect one day walking out with him, when a dog followed us, and accompanied us home, little foreseeing the fate that awaited him. He was confined for a few days, till we had ascertained that no owner would come to claim him, and then brought up to be the subject of various operations. The first of these was the tying one of the femoral arteries. When poor Chance, for so we appropriately named the dog, was sufficiently recovered from this, one of the humeral arteries was subjected to a similar process. After the lapse of a few weeks, the ill-fated animal was killed, the vessels injected, and preparations were made from each of the limbs.

"During the winter months, Astley pretty regularly attended the meetings of the Physical Society at Guy's, occasionally furnishing a paper, and joining in the discussions: sometimes, too, he attended the meetings of the society at John Hunter's, in Windmill Street. In the discussion which followed the reading of a paper, or in the debates which occurred in the course of the evening, Astley often took an active part; whilst the pertinence of his remarks, aided by his striking figure and fine voice, joined

to the eagerness with which he entered into the subject, procured him marked attention.

"In the course of the winter, an accident occurred to Mr. Cline's house, which might have been attended with serious consequences. The wind one night became very high: it continued to increase in violence: mortar and bricks began to tumble down the chimney of the room in the lower attic, in which Astley and I had our beds; and at length, at two or three o'clock in the morning, a large stack of chimneys was blown down, fell upon the roof, and, together with it, broke into the upper attics, completely filling our room with loose bricks and mortar, and seriously hurting some of the servants above. The noise and crash led each person to leave his room, and we were all soon assembled on one of the landings of the stairs. Here we met Mr. Cline in his dressing-gown, who having, as far as the bricks and dust allowed, surveyed the premises, quietly said, 'Well, we can do nothing till morning, so we may as well go to bed again;' and accordingly went. Astley and I, our room being filled with dirt and rubbish, were glad to sit up the remainder of the night in our little apartment below."

Some of my readers may be unacquainted with the necessity, under which surgeons labour, of making experiments on the lower classes of animals, in order to improve themselves as much as possible in that particular species of knowledge, requisite for the successful exercise of their profession, when called upon to alleviate or remove the sufferings of

their fellow-creatures. I fear that the allusions to this subject in the above letter, may lead those, who are unconscious of this necessity, to attribute a disposition devoid of feeling to my uncle and his friend. In order to remove such an impression, it becomes incumbent on me to say a few words on the advantages which this source of knowledge alone offers, and the consequently necessary sacrifice of our feelings in embracing them—a sacrifice to which, as far as I am able to trace the history of the most eminent men of our profession, all have more or less submitted, and which seems almost essential to the acquirement of the higher orders of surgical and physiological knowledge. By this means only are theories proved erroneous or correct, new facts brought to light, important discoveries made in physiology, and sounder doctrines and more scientific modes of treatment arrived at. Nor is this all; for the surgeon's hand becomes tutored to act with steadiness, while he is under the influence of the natural abhorrence of giving pain to the subject of experiment, and he himself is thus schooled for the severer ordeal of operating on the human frame. I may mention another peculiar advantage in proof of the necessity of such apparent cruelty; that no practising on the dead body can accustom the mind of the surgeon to the physical phenomena presented to his notice in operations on the living. The detail of the various differences which exist under the two circumstances need hardly be explained, as there are few minds to which they will not readily present themselves.

My friend Dr. Blundell has eloquently discussed this question:—"They," says he, "who object to the putting of animals to death for a scientific purpose, do not reflect that the death of an animal is a very different thing from that of man. To an animal, death is an eternal sleep; to man, it is the commencement of a new and untried state of existence. * * * * * * Shall it be said that the objects of physiological science are not worth the sacrifice of a few animals? Men are constantly forming the most erroneous estimates of the comparative importance of objects in this world. Of what importance is it now to mankind whether Antony or Augustus filled the Imperial chair? And what will it matter, a few centuries hence, whether England or France swept the ocean with her fleets? But mankind will always be equally interested in the great truths deducible from science, and in the inferences derived from physiological experiments. I will ask, then, whether the infliction of pain on the lower animals in experiments is not justified by the object for which those experiments are instituted, namely, the advancement of physiological knowledge? Is not the infliction of pain, or even of death, on man, often justified by the end for which it is inflicted? Does not the general lead his troops to slaughter, to preserve the liberties of his country? It is not the infliction of pain or death for justifiable objects, but it is the taking a savage pleasure in the infliction of pain or death, which is reprehensible. * * * * * * Here,

then, we take our stand; we defend the sacrifice of animals, in so far as it is calculated to contribute to the improvement of science; and in those parts of physiological science immediately applicable to medical practice, we maintain that such a sacrifice is not only justifiable, but a sacred duty."

The interesting nature of the subjects contained in the extracts from Mr. Holland's letter will be an ample apology for their length, and I am happy in having it in my power to subjoin a portion of Sir Astley's memoranda relating to the same period; bearing testimony, as it does, alike to the unassuming modesty of Mr. Holland when speaking of himself, as to the honesty of Sir Astley Cooper, who never forgot to acknowledge his obligations to those to whom he felt himself indebted for professional information or other advantages:—

"Two years after I was at Mr. Cline's, Mr. Holland, surgeon at Knutsford, was one of his house pupils, who was a highly informed, sensible man, and father of Dr. Holland. He gave me a turn for study; his conversation improved me, and the conversation between Mr. Cline and him still more."

The histories of his other associates at this time are no less instructive than curious: they form a remarkable contrast with the subsequent career of their fellow-pupil, who relates them:—

"A Mr. Clarke, afterwards Dr. Clarke, lived at Mr. Cline's, being articled as pupil to him; and Mr. S—— of R———. Clarke was a singular character; he was an admirable scholar; he had been at a

school I think in Settle, in Yorkshire; but was a very idle fellow, and never studied his profession. His father lived in Gracechurch Street, and died during his pupilage, and left him a thousand pounds, and he bought a commission in the Royals 1st regiment of Foot. He drank hard. When in the West Indies he fell in love with Miss Duncan, the colonel's daughter; and to ingratiate himself with her, he became the soberest man in the regiment, and the colonel used to point him out as a pattern of excellence: so he succeeded in marrying Miss Duncan, and in imposing himself upon her father as a man of fortune.

"He brought his wife to Dublin, and was drunk nearly the whole of the passage. He left her in a lodging at Dublin, and came to England and hired a lodging in the Rules of the King's Bench. She came over to him, and they were almost starved when he published his *Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ**, a very pretty view of the practice of medicine in excellent Latin. I afterwards requested Mr. Cline, Dr. Saunders, and others to obtain a

* The title given above is evidently erroneous, and the mistake no doubt is attributable to the hurried manner in which these memoranda were penned. The work named was written by Dr. Gregory, and not by Dr. Edward Goodman Clarke, Physician to the Forces, to whom the above history evidently alludes. Sir Astley Cooper was at the moment most probably confounding it with the *Medicinæ Praxeos Compendium, &c.*, written by Dr. Clarke, and first published by him A.D. 1799. Dr. C. was the author of other small medical works, some of which went through several editions.

commission for him as an army physician. He was sent home for being drunk in an hospital in the Netherlands, but he retained his pay. However, whenever he got any money, he was always drunk, and his wife and children were starving. At length he died of diseased liver and dropsy; and would have been starved to death but for myself and Lady Cooper, and Mrs. Baillie, wife of Dr. Baillie, the celebrated physician.

"I afterwards got Mrs. Clarke into Guy's Hospital as a Sister*, through the kindness of Mr. Harrison, where she remained nearly until her death; but she also acquired her husband's vice of drinking, although she had been a most excellent woman, and really a genteel person. All her children did very ill—in short, perished from following their parent's misconduct. Such was the history of my fellow-apprentice.

"S—— was a fool, but succeeded to his father's business, drank a pipe of wine for himself and friends per annum, and died of apoplexy in his garden at R——.

"Another man lived with me at Mr. Cline's of the name of F——; he was more nearly an idiot than any one I ever saw. * * He was sent to sea in the *Guardian* frigate as assistant-surgeon, and was in her when she struck upon an island off the Cape of Good Hope. He was too lazy to pump, and they put him under the pump and pumped upon

* The chief nurse in each ward, at Guy's Hospital, is called *The Sister of the Ward.*

him, and he slunk* away among the casks. A fever ensued, and he died at the Cape, where he was buried, being put into a coffin which opened at the bottom, in order that, having let him into his grave, it might be brought back for others.

"Mr. S——, the brother of the former, from R——, also lived at Mr. Cline's. He was desperately in love with Miss C——, who refused him, and he went into Essex disconsolate; there meeting with a Mrs. B——, a widow, he offered to her, a fortnight after her husband's death, but she said she had been engaged three weeks. However, she jilted the man she had promised, and married S——, to whose house, near R——, I frequently afterwards went to shoot, and to visit his sister, a lovely woman, who married Mr. B——."

* *Slunk:* an expression in very common use in Norfolk. The mention of this brings to my recollection a story which I have heard Sir Astley tell, connected with the history of his father, and which, at the time it occurred, wounded the doctor's dignity excessively. A clergyman with whom he became, on some occasion, acquainted at Brooke, offered to assist him in his Sunday's duties. To this my grandfather readily acceded, although he did not require his aid, as was evinced by his accompanying him to church to hear the sermon. The doctor, at the very commencement of the discourse, was a little distressed at some of the expressions which his *locum tenens* introduced; but, at last, was so shocked at a sentence which, in the warmth of his argument, escaped him, as almost to be driven out of church. It was this. The preacher had been speaking of the disgust of one of the disciples at the incredulity of a multitude to whom he had been addressing himself, and thus described his indignant departure from them: "And he went awa: he slunk awa: and he never came back to say nothing no more."

The extract we have given from the letter of Mr. Holland sufficiently shows that it was no temporary thirst for knowledge and distinction which had arisen in the mind of Astley Cooper, but that once excited, it had continued ever since increasing in vehemence, while the clearer view exposed to him, by each addition to his stock of knowledge, of other stores still unexplored, seemed only as a stimulus to fresh exertions in the pursuit. He seems, at the time when he first turned his mind seriously to professional pursuits, to have determined if possible to excel; and this resolution once formed, to have ever afterwards devoted himself to its accomplishment with a disregard to danger and fatigue, which only extraordinary natural courage and powers of constitution could have enabled him to exhibit. During the winter, to which the preceding extracts allude, notwithstanding his many engagements at the Borough hospitals, and his private studies, he contrived to attend a course of lectures, delivered by John Hunter, near Leicester Square.

It is not surprising that Astley Cooper should have taken great interest in the comprehensive lectures of that highly-gifted man. From the very commencement of his professional studies, he had devoted himself, like John Hunter, to the perusal of the Book of Nature; and although yet but a young disciple, he had used so much industrious zeal in his inquiries, as to be fully capable of appreciating his preceptor's faithful description and expo-

sition of its contents. The amount of knowledge which he had thus obtained, and his earnest desire for fresh information, enabled him, with a facility possessed by few, to examine and comprehend the doctrines which that illustrious philosopher maintained and promulgated. Nor was this an easy task; for, in addition to the novelty of Hunter's opinions, and their opposition to many of those generally received, they were delivered with so little method, and in language so obscure, that the task of listening to them was rendered irksome to the unwilling pupil, while at the same time they were scarcely intelligible to the older students, who had previously adopted the doctrines of the leading writers of the day, and were familiar with their terms and expressions. These latter, indeed, occasionally affected to doubt whether the lecturer even understood them himself. The fact is well known, that, in the trial regarding the alleged murder of Sir Theodosius Broughton, the evidence of John Hunter, although it afterwards proved to be correct, was stated by the judge to be obscure and unintelligible, while that of the other leading professional witness, who was opposed to him in opinion, was received as perfectly satisfactory.

This obscurity of expression is easily accounted for on the part of John Hunter from the nature of his education. Gifted with a vigorous understanding, and powers of intense application, circumstances had deprived him of the opportunity of availing himself of these qualities in early life; and when

afterwards this opportunity offered itself, refusing to submit to studies, for which no early taste had been cultivated in him, he at once applied himself to that pursuit which required least previous preparation, and which, once commenced, ever afterwards occupied his time and attention. Thus, then, not having derived his knowledge from others, but from quiet secluded observation and mental labour, his ideas, at once original and simple, were delivered in a language which might be almost said to be peculiar to himself.

Astley Cooper, however, neither biassed by pre-existing opinions, nor idly listening to him as a matter of duty; but, on the contrary, full of noble enthusiasm, eagerly seeking knowledge, and willing to take any trouble to acquire it, soon, by his strict attention, penetrated beyond the obscurity of John Hunter's language; and by discussing the topic of each day's lecture on his way home with his friend, Mr. Holland, as well as by experimental inquiry in private, succeeded in fixing Hunter's principles on his mind, and became fully convinced of their truth and importance. It was not long before he felt the superiority which the attention he had devoted to these lectures gave him.

A circumstance occurred about this period, which threatened the most serious consequences to Astley Cooper. Notwithstanding his long-continued labours in the dissecting-room, (the source of serious illness or untimely destruction to not a few,) and his incessant pursuit of knowledge at the bed-

side of the sick and elsewhere, he had hitherto neither suffered injury, nor had his health become impaired. But in the spring of this year, 1787, he experienced a severe attack of illness, in consequence of a visit which he paid, according to his father's wishes, to a prisoner in Newgate, of the name of Benjamin Gregson. The history of this person was not a little remarkable, and from the circumstance alluded to, may be worth recording.

In December, 1785, while engaged with a bookseller in London, Gregson had given a forged bill of acceptance, in part payment of a debt for jewellery, to a watch-maker. Being accused of the forgery, he suddenly quitted his engagements, and immediately afterwards appeared in Yarmouth in the character of an independent gentleman, where he soon, by means of his prepossessing exterior and easy address, as well as his expensive style of living, contrived to be admitted to the best society of the town. Among other houses, he became a frequent visitor at the parsonage, not only at the public entertainments, given every week by Dr. Cooper, but also at his private parties, which, from the social habits of the doctor, were of frequent occurrence.

One evening, however, Gregson, while engaged in dancing with a lady, at one of the select assemblies, to the astonishment of all present, was suddenly apprehended, and committed to Yarmouth gaol. Here he displayed a singularly wanton indifference to the degradation of his situation,

by various extravagances of conduct, such as putting himself to considerable pains to get his iron fetters polished, which at last he succeeded in having done for him. This conduct might have been for the purpose of diverting the attention of his keepers; for after a short time, having succeeded in making a favourable impression on the daughter of the gaoler, who occasionally assisted her father in his duties, he obtained certain keys, through her means, and one night effected his escape*. Going into one of the fishermen's huts, he obtained a complete suit of their attire, and in this disguise, with a pipe in his mouth, walked in the market-place, in the midst of a large crowd, with whom he was at the very time one of the chief subjects of conversation.

From Yarmouth he easily got over to Holland; thence he sailed to Russia, and from Russia he went to France, where he formed an illicit intimacy with a married lady residing at Paris. This affair being discovered, the lady was removed to London, and the reckless Gregson following, was arrested, in consequence of information given by the husband, who had found means of becoming acquainted with his history before quitting Paris. Gregson received sentence of death at the Old Bailey, on the 18th of April, 1787. However, on the 15th of May following, he found means again to make his escape, his

* The letter of Mrs. Cooper to her son Astley, at the commencement of this chapter, alludes to the circumstance of this escape.

irons, which he had sawed off in the night, being found in his cell, and his prison dress in a private part of the building, where he had, in all probability, been furnished with a change of apparel. He was subsequently again taken, and then underwent the sentence of the law.

It was prior to Gregson's escape from Newgate, and while under sentence of death, that Astley Cooper visited him. The prisoner was at the time labouring under an attack of an infectious fever, which, owing to the regulations of that period, was much more prevalent in places of confinement than at the present day. One evening after visiting him, Astley made complaints of feeling unwell, and in a short time afterwards, all the distressing symptoms of the disorder manifested themselves. The attack proved to be very dangerous, owing perhaps to his constitution having been weakened by his close application during the past winter: it is well known also that hospital students are much less able to withstand or sustain disease towards the conclusion of a session than at its commencement. Had it not been for the unremitting kindness and attention of Mr. Cline and his family, there is every reason to believe that this attack would have been fatal. He became convalescent, however, but it was not until he had for some time breathed the pure and bracing air of his native county, and enjoyed the society of his family, that he was finally restored to health.

Having paid a visit for this purpose to Yar-

mouth, in the autumn of the year, he returned to London, preparatory to passing the following winter in Edinburgh, which his agreement with Mr. Cline permitted him to do. A letter from his mother, sent shortly after his return to London, exhibits the kindly feelings which his amiable disposition and industry had excited among his friends and relations.

"* * * * I am quite happy to find that you feel more attached to your family after being in a more intimate intercourse with every part of it, and I can most truly affirm that a similar effect has been in us toward you—may we be ever united in the firmest and in an increasing affection for each other! May the tenderness of the friend be ever blended with the attentions of the parent, and may every wish of our children's hearts be communicated that they may, if within parental power, be gratified.

"Heaven bless you, my dearest Astley, with health, every enjoyment, and every improvement, in the excursion you are about to undertake. Let us have a letter, as soon as you can find leisure, after your arrival. We will not tax your most obliging disposition with too frequent expectations of letters. When opportunity and inclination concur, we shall be happy in receiving assurances of your health and information of your proceedings. * * * * * But let me not be continually fatiguing you with advice. My heart prompts every tender expression,

and anxiously prays for your happiness. I admire, I love your exquisite tenderness of disposition. May it ever be regulated by duty! God Almighty bless and preserve you, my dear dear Astley, is the fervent supplication of

"Your ever tenderly affectionate Mother,

"*October* 16*th*, 1787. "M. S. COOPER.

"Your dear father will write: I will therefore only beg you to remember the books he wished you to return, especially *Watson's Horace.* I inclose your bills, and four notes of ten pounds each; three of them on the Norwich Bank, the other on the Bank of England."

CHAPTER IX.

ASTLEY COOPER VISITS EDINBURGH UNDER FAVOURABLE AUSPICES. SKETCHES OF THE LEADING PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERS IN EDINBURGH AT THAT TIME. DR. GREGORY. DR. BLACK. DR. HAMILTON. MR. FYFE. DR. RUTHERFORD. INDUSTRY OF ASTLEY COOPER. ROYAL MEDICAL SOCIETY. ELECTED PRESIDENT OF A SOCIETY OF STUDENTS. SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THIS PERIOD. PROFESSIONAL ADVANTAGES OF THIS VISIT. ASTLEY COOPER'S TOUR THROUGH THE HIGHLANDS. PECUNIARY DIFFICULTIES ON HIS RETURN HOME. ANECDOTE.

ALLUSION has already been made, in a previous chapter, to a clause in the indentures of Astley Cooper, entitling him to spend one session in Edinburgh. Of this permission he determined to avail himself during the winter of the year 1787, and accordingly, towards the latter end of the month of October, he took his departure from London for the North.

As he was little more than nineteen years of age, in the enjoyment of full strength and health, eager for instruction, provided with the means of gratifying the desire, and already possessing a greater amount of information than probably could be found in any other person of the same age; scarcely any circumstances could have enhanced the gratifications he anticipated from this visit. He carried with him letters of introduction to the most eminent men in Edinburgh, not only in his own profession,

but also in the sister sciences; including, among others, Adam Smith, who had been lately elected Lord Rector of the University, Dr. Gregory, Mackenzie the Man of Feeling, Mr. Machonochee afterwards Lord Meadowbank, Charles Hope, and Dr. Black; to all of whom he was mentioned with much kindness by Mr. Beaufoy, at that time M.P. for Yarmouth. Some brief but pithy remarks on some of these persons, which occur among his memoranda, I shall notice hereafter.

In the course of his journey to Edinburgh, he made a stay in Staffordshire for the purpose of examining the potteries, which he visited under very advantageous circumstances, having an introduction to Mr. Wedgwood, from his niece, Mrs. Holland, the wife of the gentleman whose name has already appeared in these Memoirs. Thence he proceeded into Cheshire, and stayed several days at the house of his friend Mr. Holland, at Knutsford, in whose company he afterwards went to Manchester, and examined various factories. Mr. Holland relates that Sir Astley at this period took much interest in everything relating to the arts and manufactures.

From this time until his arrival in Edinburgh we can trace nothing worthy of relation. Having presented his letters of introduction, he without loss of time engaged himself in the object of his journey, and in order to carry it out in the most effective manner, hired a lodging close to the principal scene of his studies; not, however, of the most

expensive character, as appears by the following extract. This remark occurs among some notes made by Sir Astley, during an excursion into the North, in company with Lady Cooper, in the year 1837. It is, unfortunately, the only one which alludes to this period.

"August 30th. Walked out to the college, and to Bristow Street, and saw the infirmary. Saw my lodging, No. 5, in Bristow Street; walked up into my room, where I spent six shillings and sixpence per week in lodging; dining in Buccleugh Place with Mrs. Mackintosh at one shilling per diem."

The diligence and zeal with which he sought information, and the intelligence he manifested on various occasions, soon attracted the notice of the professors, and gained for him as distinguished a place in their esteem and favour, as he had already acquired among the preceptors whom he had lately left. It may be interesting to the reader to have some brief sketches of these gentlemen,—with most of whom, in 1815 and 1816, I myself was personally acquainted,—more especially as Sir Astley used to attach much importance to the information he derived both from their private and public instruction.

Dr. Gregory, to whom Sir Astley Cooper ever afterwards expressed himself indebted for much information and kindness, was a large uncouth man, and appeared to me to bear a greater resemblance, both in manner and appearance, to the description given of Dr. Johnson than any one I ever saw. As a lecturer, he was powerful and

eloquent, and always commanded respect; but he was often very diffuse, entering into the history of diseases with a prolixity which rendered him tedious to his audience. Thus, when upon the subject of fever, he would commence from the earliest account of the disease,—giving the opinions of the ancients upon it, with their treatment,—and so descend gradually to his own times. His concluding remarks, however, always contained most valuable practical information.

Although of a forgiving disposition, he was occasionally very violent, and once gave a brother professor a severe thrashing with a stick which he always carried with him. This transaction afterwards became the subject of a legal action.

Notwithstanding his rough exterior and apparent harshness, Dr. Gregory possessed a heart which was at once kindled into the tenderest emotions at the recital of a tale of woe, and his hand was ever ready to alleviate the distresses he commiserated. I had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with several circumstances, which forcibly tended to illustrate these points in his character. I remember the following:—It was the custom, some years since, for each professor to receive at his own house the fees from the new pupils for their attendance on the lectures. One day Dr. Gregory, thus engaged, had used all his blank tickets, and was obliged to go into an adjoining apartment, to procure another for a student whom he left sitting in his consulting-room. The accumu-

lated money which he had received was lying on the table, and from this sum, as he was re-entering the room, he saw the young man, with one hand sweep a portion into the other, and then deposit it in his pocket. Dr. Gregory took his seat at the table, and, as if nothing had occurred, filled up the ticket, and gave it to the delinquent. He then accompanied him to the door, and when at the threshhold, with much emotion, said to him, "I saw what you did just now; keep the money, I know what must be your distress; but for God's sake never do it again, it can never succeed." The pupil in vain offered him back the money; and the doctor had the satisfaction of knowing that this moral lesson produced the desired impression on his mind, and rooted out from it that tendency to iniquity, which but for this timely and Christian-like conduct on his part might have increased and proved the young man's ruin.

At another time, having seen a poor pupil and fellow-countryman, who was sinking in the last stage of typhus fever, he said to him among other things,—"You must have generous diet—jellies, good soup, and wine—your life depends upon it." The young man, turning his glazed eye upon him, faintly replied,—"Sir, I have not five shillings a week to spend in food; how do you think I am to get such things?" Dr. Gregory's eyes were instantly suffused with tears, and, shaking the young man's hand, without making any further remark, he left the room. I need hardly say, that from that time

the patient was fully supplied with all he needed. He ultimately recovered, and became a highly successful practitioner in his native country.

In professional matters Dr. Gregory always exhibited a degree of liberality highly creditable to his character. He once gave a professional colleague, not famous for this quality, a severe lesson. He had called to see a young man, a student at the college, who had been for some time under the care of the professor alluded to, but was not receiving much benefit from his attendance. Dr. Gregory, having concluded the object of his visit, was about to depart, when the pupil presented him with a fee. Much offended at the indignity thus offered him, although unintentionally, Dr. Gregory asked the student to explain himself, for he didn't understand him. The young man at once perceiving his error, begged his pardon, and in extenuation mentioned that Dr.—— had always taken his fee. "Oh! he has, has he?"—replied Dr. Gregory—"ask him to meet me in consultation to-morrow; and then offer him a fee: or stay—offer me the fee first." The consultation was accordingly arranged; and, being concluded, the patient, as desired, offered Dr. Gregory his fee: who, as if swelling with indignation, immediately called out—"Do you mean to insult me, sir? Are we cannibals that we should live upon one another? Is there a professor, do you think, in this university who would so far degrade himself as to take payment from one of his own brotherhood, and a junior too?" Then, his anger apparently relaxing,

he shook him by the hand, and, begging him not to do it again, left the room with his colleague. Before he went out, however, the student offered Dr. —— his fee, as usual; but he, evidently confused, in a hurried manner stammered out an awkward refusal. Within a few hours after this meeting the pupil received back the full amount of the fees which he had paid during his illness; nor would the professor ever afterwards accept another from him.

Sir Astley occasionally attended Dr. Black's lectures. He was professor of chemistry; had long since rendered himself famous for his discoveries in that science; and was then one of the first of those upon whom the celebrity of the Edinburgh school rested. Dugald Stewart Sir Astley appears to have known; but it is uncertain whether he attended him in the lecture-room. He was professor of moral philosophy. The histories of these gentlemen are sufficiently well known.

Dr. Hamilton was one of the physicians to the infirmary; but in my time he had retired from the active duties of this office, and was acting as consulting physician. He was a short little man, very popular as a teacher, and eccentric in his habits. His antipathy to breathing confined air was remarkable. In the coldest weather he never sat in his carriage with the windows closed; and when very cold, for he never wore an upper coat, he would get out and walk before it until his circulation was sufficiently restored. In visiting a patient with a

professional friend, if the latter objected to the windows being open, he invariably left his carriage, and, while his friend remained inside, would himself proceed on foot to the patient's house. He was accustomed to dress in knee-breeches; and, with his large buckles, his powdered hair, pigtail, and cocked hat—a style of dress which he never changed —presented a *tout ensemble* not a little curious, and which gave rise to various *soubriquets* by which he was familiarly known among his friends and acquaintance. Accoutred as above described, he used to enter the infirmary, and, walking deliberately up to a certain part of the room, hang his hat upon a peg which he had been known to use for the last fifty years: any one else, indeed, would have as soon thought of entering the Doctor's house and using his library, uninvited, as appropriating this peg to himself. Thence, if the weather were cold, he would proceed to the fire-place, and, holding his hands (which had never known the use of gloves) over, not before, the fire, used to say, with all the earnestness and satisfaction, as if he were saying it for the first time, "Heat always ascends, gentlemen; it's no use showing your fingers to the bars, as some people do. It's the fault of their not remembering that heat always ascends, gentlemen." In a short time the appearance of his hands would sufficiently prove that smoke, as well as heat, ascends; but a little rubbing on his black breeches very easily and satisfactorily removed this, and he would then proceed to business.

Mr. Fyfe was a tall thin man, and one of the most ungainly lecturers I ever knew. He had been assistant to Dr. Munro, and by hard study, and dissecting for the doctor's lectures, became an excellent anatomist. Sir Astley used to mimic very admirably the awkward style of delivery and primitive habits which distinguished Mr. Fyfe in the lecture-room, even when he was in Edinburgh, and invariably excited much laughter. Mr. Fyfe published a work on anatomy in four volumes, and, rather oddly, imposed the task of colouring the plates, which were numerous, on his wife and daughters. His son was very fond of chemistry, and assisted Dr. Hope in the laboratory; but he died young: an event which so afflicted his father, as materially to hasten his decease.

Dr. Rutherford was the professor of botany, but was always esteemed a better morbid anatomist than botanist. His diagnosis of disease was excellent. He carried his abhorrence to the practice of bleeding to an extraordinary extent, and whenever I, who was for some time his clinical clerk, had during his absence used the lancet, on telling him of the circumstance, it appeared to cause him the most painful distress imaginable. He used to think that the same effect might always be ensured by the use of medicines. He was well versed in literature, both ancient and modern; and notwithstanding a certain imbecility of manner and countenance, possessed an abundant share of good common sense.

Such were the principal persons connected with

the medical profession, with whom Astley Cooper was associated in Edinburgh, and under whose superintendence, for seven months, he prosecuted his studies with unabated ardour. Their views and practice could but be highly beneficial to him; for when compared with the practice and doctrines to which he had been accustomed in London, the difference between them must have enabled a mind, so acute and penetrating as his, to collect a variety of new ideas and valuable information; while the treatment he witnessed at the bedside, and the operations in the theatre, must also have furnished him with a store of facts which his ingenuity and ready powers of application would not omit to call to his assistance afterwards, in the course of his professional career.

He himself appreciated the advantages thus opened to him, and did not omit to seize every opportunity which occurred of making use of them. Not only did he, with the most exemplary perseverance and industry, listen to the instructions of his teachers in the lecture-room, and compare them with their practice in the wards; but at hours, which were hours of leisure or amusement to others, still employed his thoughts in the same pursuits, and equally in private as in public devoted himself to the acquisition of knowledge and professional information. The introductions he brought with him from home, at once opened to him the notice of his superiors; but it was his diligence and attention, his superior abilities and information, which gained and

secured to him the honour of their continued approbation and friendship.

He was a constant attendant at the debates of the Royal Medical Society, and so much distinguished himself in the discussions, that he, at his departure from Edinburgh, was offered the presidency if he would return,—an event, however, which never took place. Here it was that his excellent knowledge of anatomy, acquired under Mr. Cline, and the instruction he had derived from the lectures of Mr. John Hunter, proved themselves of such advantage to him,—the confidence derived from the one source, and the novelty and justice of his ideas from the other, always securing to him the respect and attention of the members whenever he addressed them. To these circumstances he himself invariably attributed the favourable hearing his remarks obtained among them*.

I have heard my uncle, in adverting to his attendance at this Society, mention a witty retort

* In reply to an inquiry whether my uncle read any treatise before this Society, Dr. Newbigging has favoured me with the following notes:—

"Sir A. P. Cooper was elected an ordinary member of the Royal Medical Society on the 1st Dec., 1787. He does not appear to have read any Essay before the Society, as no record is kept of such a paper among the other essays and dissertations of the Society, although the records have been carefully searched for the years immediately succeeding the date of his first election, as well as the index of author's names up to 1820, and also Stroud's History of the Society. It is therefore probable that he did not read a paper before the Society, his attendance not having been sufficiently long for his turn to have arrived."

which occurred in a discussion at one of its meetings between two young surgeons, one an Irishman, the other a Scotchman. The former maintained that cancer never occurred in women who had borne children. The young Scotchman vehemently opposed this doctrine, and mentioned the case of a lady who had twice had twins, and yet had cancer afterwards. To this apparently conclusive evidence, the Irishman immediately replied, "Ah, by my soul, but don't you know that's an exception to the general rule,—where's the wonder in Cancer following Gemini?—it always does."

Nor was it with his superiors only he was thus a favourite in Edinburgh: the same popularity and reputation which, among his cotemporaries, had distinguished him in London, equally and at once distinguished him among his fellow-students here. In proportion as he became familiar with them they became delighted with his frank generosity of disposition; and thus it was not long before he held a place in their affections, similar to that which his superior attainments, upright character, and conduct, at once gained for him in their esteem. The confidence which was placed in him in nothing appears more, than in his being chosen President of a Society, which was formed among them to protect their rights against certain imagined usurpations on the part of the professors. This Society met at Archer's Hall.

He was also a member of the Speculative Society, to which he was introduced by Charles Hope (since

Lord President of the University), and a paper which he read on the Berkelian Theory of the non-existence of matter, maintaining its doctrines, has been remembered, chiefly from a neat and witty compliment which it called forth, partly perhaps as a reproof, from a Mr. Wyld, the President of the Society, who, on summing up the debate, said;—"But Mr. Cooper has himself proved the falsehood of his doctrine, for there was much good *matter* in his own paper."

Through the kindness of Professor Alison I have been enabled to procure the following entries from the books of this Society:—

"Astley P. Cooper was admitted a member of the Speculative Society on 4th December, 1787.—12th February, 1788, 'Mr. Cooper read an Essay denying the existence of matter.'

"18th March, 1788, took part in the debate, 'Has Great Britain derived any benefit from her territorial possessions in the East Indies?' which was carried in the affirmative.

"25th March, 1788, opened debate, 'Is man a free agent? and was teller for the *noes;* carried in affirmative by casting vote.

"15th April, 1788, absent after this date, having left Edinburgh."

It is much to be regretted that Sir Astley did not make any notes during this period; the brief memoranda which he has since written, and to which we have already alluded, are the following:—

"Adam Smith was good-natured, simple-minded, unaffected, and fond of young people.

"Mackenzie I saw little of.

"Gregory's lectures on clinical medicine were admirable, yet he thought most highly of his physi-

ology, on which he enlarged in his evening lecture on therapeutics. Having on one occasion been confined to my room by illness, I expressed my regret to Dr. Gregory at losing his clinical reports, but he said, 'Sir, that does not signify, but you have lost my therapeutics.'

"Black said, 'Sir, you will speak to me after lecture if you do not understand anything. Have you fixed upon a tailor or a shoemaker? I can recommend you to one and the other;' but seeing he might carry his furnaces in his shoes, and that his coat was probably like that worn by Noah in the ark, I thankfully declined. He was a kind easy man. He used to lecture from his notes made on little scraps of paper, in a most unaffected style.

"Lord Meadowbank was a sharp man, something like Wollaston.

"Charles Hope was a man of reading, a gentleman, and dignified, and very eloquent.

"Old M—— grunted like a pig. He was a tolerable lecturer, possessed a full knowledge of his subject, had much sagacity in practice, was laudably zealous, but was much given to self and to the abuse of others. I gave him two instruments, Cline's gorget, and an instrument for scratching the capsule of the lens, and the next day he said, 'Gentlemen, Mr. Cooper has given me two instruments, one for scratching the capsule of the lens, which *may be* useful: the other, a cutting gorget, and it is curious I myself invented this very instrument twenty years ago.'

"Fyfe I attended, and learned much from him. He was a horrid lecturer, but an industrious worthy man, and good practical anatomist. His lecture was, 'I say—eh, eh, eh, gentlemen; eh, eh, eh, gentlemen—I say, &c.;" whilst the tallow from a naked candle he held in his hand ran over the back of it and over his clothes:—but his drawings and depictions were well made and very useful.

"I was glad I went to Edinburgh, because I learned that distance enhances the character of men beyond their deserts. Cullen and Black and Dugald Stewart, however, were great men, and being near them did not diminish the importance I had been led to attach to them from their public character. Dugald Stewart was beyond my power of appreciation,—metaphysics were foreign to my mind, which was never captivated by speculation;—but Dr. Black's lectures were clear, and I knew enough of the subjects he treated upon to understand them. Never shall I forget the veneration with which I viewed Cullen; he was then an old man; physic may have much improved since his time, but if Hippocrates was its father, Cullen was its favoured son."

I have always heard my uncle, Sir Astley, refer in conversation to the seven months he spent in Edinburgh, as one of the most agreeable periods in his life; not only on account of the facilities which were afforded to him in his studies by the various professors, but also from the many happy hours which he spent in the social parties of those among them whom he visited. He always spoke of the Edin-

burgh ladies with the highest encomiums; and used to maintain that they possessed an affability and simplicity of manners which he had not often found elsewhere, in conjunction with the superior intellectual attainments which at the same time generally distinguished them.

It seemed that in Edinburgh Sir Astley, for the first time, discovered the real extent of his professional knowledge, and became satisfied of the substantial progress he had made in the science of surgery. In this city he first became aware of the peculiar tact he had acquired from the superior diagnostic powers of his master, Cline, by means of which he was enabled to understand the nature of the cases as they were brought into the infirmary, with a facility which distinguished him from all the other students of the same age. He at the same time became acquainted with the points of superiority which distinguished the metropolitan hospitals from the smaller surgical school of Edinburgh. Indeed, at that time, as at the present moment it may perhaps be allowed, surgery was not considered in the North as by any means so important a part of medical science as it is now; and thus Astley Cooper had his ambition fed by being frequently applied to by the house-surgeon and pupils for his opinion, when difficult cases were brought into the institution: for the practical remarks which his previous studies and experience enabled him to make, were sought after, as more instructive and useful than the theoretical views which were wont to be given

by the professors. The superiority of which this rendered him conscious, excited him to take so much interest, and to pay such attention to the cases, that he constantly watched them from their commencement to their termination, and thus was enabled, either to verify the accuracy of his judgment, or, if in error, to discover the source of his misconception.

Here it was, I have heard him say, that he first planned a mode of examining cases of disease, which led to the surest and safest mode of forming a just diagnosis,—a power which he ever afterwards retained, and which, from the extensive and beneficial use he made of it, became a most conspicuous feature in his professional greatness. The medical department of the University of Edinburgh was always remarkable for the order of its scholastic arrangements, so that a student, who might be in difficulty respecting his proper course of study, could here acquire the system best adapted to the fulfilment of his object. This order was of the greatest importance to Sir Astley Cooper, and gave him not only a facility for acquiring fresh knowledge, but also stamped a value on the information he already possessed, but which, from its previous want of arrangement, was scarcely ever in a state to be applied to its full and appropriate use. The correction of this fault, which gave him afterwards his well-known facility of using for each particular case that came before him, all his knowledge and experience that in any way could be brought to bear upon it,

Sir Astley always attributed to the school of Edinburgh. If this advantage only had been gained, the seven months spent in that city were, indeed, well bestowed.

After he had finished his course of study, and the session had ended, he determined to pay a visit to the Highlands; and business being discharged from his mind, he seemed resolved to enjoy fully his projected tour. He purchased two horses, hired a servant, and then commenced his journey not only propitiously, from the gratification of having performed his duties in Edinburgh so diligently, but also with a degree of comfort and style consonant with the condition in which he had been brought up as a boy, but which we found him so willing to forego when employed in the study of his profession. I have heard him describe the unalloyed delight with which he left the confinement of the capital, to enter into the wild beauties of the mountain scenery. It seemed as if the whole world were before him, and that there were no limits to the extent of his range.

Astley Cooper made this tour without a companion; an objectionable plan, for continued solitude leads the mind rather to reflections on itself than upon the surrounding objects, however beautiful they may be. He has left scarcely a single remark concerning it, and none of those observations, or little sketches of striking objects which, at subsequent periods when travelling, he was always accustomed to make in his note-book, and which,

although roughly drawn by an untaught hand, are occasionally singularly descriptive. His notice of this journey comprehends nothing more than the mere names of the places through which he passed: but from this we learn that it was a lengthened tour, as he extended his visit to the Western Isles. As, however, they have since been visited by all travellers to the North, and their beauties and peculiarities fully described, we lose nothing as far as regards the country through which he passed; but it would have been undoubtedly interesting to have had some record of the impressions made on his mind by the various and novel scenes he witnessed, and which at that time had been but little visited by tourists.

In his notes of later tours, he has not only entered largely into the beauties of the scenery, but has also noticed the nature of the soil, the peculiar agricultural uses to which it could be suitably applied, the kind of agricultural implements in use:—in short, scarcely a single subject seems to escape his observation. Not unfrequently he would sketch with his pen any peculiarity of architecture, or even dress, that attracted his attention.

But perhaps more than any other object, always excepting those which in any way related to professional pursuits, the various modes of farming attracted his attention while travelling. I have myself, while on professional journeys with Sir Astley, after perhaps half an hour's silence, or quiet conversation on some topic of professional interest,

started at his loud and vehement expression of contempt on seeing perhaps a man ploughing with three horses in a length. "Now look there!" he would passionately say; "see that fool;—why, he could do twice the work in a soil like that with two horses abreast;" and if the ploughman were near enough to hear him from the road, he would inquire of him his reason for such a mode of proceeding, and point out to him its inutility. "Don't you see that one man," he would say to him, "is sufficient with a pair of horses, while with three you must have a boy as well as the man; besides your loss, both of time and ground, in turning?" And then he would probably receive the answer so often given to suggestions of this sort, "Why, sir, we always have done it so;" the expression of the man's countenance, at the same time, pourtraying about as much sense and argument as his answer. But this would not prevent Sir Astley from again following the same course, when some other similar occasion arose.

The apparent incongruity in the circumstances of his living in a room at a rent of six shillings and sixpence per week in Edinburgh, and afterwards travelling through the Highlands on horseback, with a servant, will not appear remarkable to those who are familiar with the habits of medical students, while attending lectures. Although their accustomed mode of living at home be of ever so superior an order, and their means competent, yet we know nothing is of more frequent occurrence than for them, while engaged in study, to be residing in

small, obscurely-placed apartments: the contiguity of these to the hospital or college being considered to outweigh better accommodation, the advantages of which their constant occupation from home would seldom permit them to use. To their convenient situation with regard to the Infirmary, and to a desire for seclusion, we must attribute the selection of these lodgings by Astley Cooper, more than to motives of economy; a quality, for the possession of which Sir Astley as a young man was never very remarkable. His liberality, indeed, appears to have been not merely great, but to have often bordered on extravagance; while his neglect of proper arrangement between his means and expenditure, occasionally led him into situations of no little temporary inconvenience. A difficulty of this nature happened to him towards the conclusion of this tour; for, when in the north of England, on his way home, he suddenly found himself without the pecuniary means of proceeding, and in order to sufficiently recruit his exhausted treasury, he was obliged not only to sell one of his horses and discharge his servant, but even to pawn his watch, before he arrived at home. I have often heard him mention this fact; and he relates the circumstance among the memoranda whichwe have so often quoted, but without any comment.

Mrs. Keeling, my wife's mother, informs me, that Sir Astley was one day speaking to her of this embarrassment, when he remarked, that it was in a great measure attributable to an entertainment,

—inconsiderately expensive,—which he had given before leaving Edinburgh, to his friends and acquaintance in that city. He also stated to her, that the impression made on his mind by all the circumstances of the affair, had been such, as prevented him ever again getting into similar difficulties.

Mr. Holland has related to me an occurrence, which took place in the winter previous to Astley Cooper's visit to Edinburgh, which farther exemplifies the perhaps injudicious generosity of his disposition, and his want of economical ideas at that time. "He and I," said Mr. Holland, "once made an equestrian excursion together to Richmond, Hampton Court, Twickenham, &c., returning on the north side of the river to town. When the owner of the horses called for payment, he charged us each half a guinea. Your uncle insisted that this was too low a charge, and that he ought to have much more. I argued that as the man who let us the horses knew the extent of our ride, and we had brought them back with every evidence of good usage, and as he ought to be the best judge of what was a fair remuneration, there could be no reason for our giving him more than he demanded. This did not satisfy my friend, who persisted in making an addition to the sum charged." But many similar instances of generosity of feeling will have to be noticed in the course of this history.

Having at length become somewhat surfeited, even with the interest inseparable from visiting

strange and wild scenery; beginning also to be tired of the leisure, and even idleness, compared with the severe application to which his mind had been lately subjected; and perhaps also, somewhat depressed, from the expenditure, not only of all his ready money, but also of that, to obtain which he had been obliged to make personal sacrifices;—Astley bent his steps homewards, with an anxious desire to resume his studies in London, and to prove to his kind preceptor, Mr. Cline, that he had not lost in idleness the time which he had spent away from him.

CHAPTER X.

EXTRACTS FROM SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S MEMORANDA. DR. ASH. MR. SHRAPNELL. DR. NEWELL. PROFESSOR COLEMAN'S INTIMACY WITH SIR ASTLEY COOPER. MEMOIR OF HIM, FOUND IN SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S HAND-WRITING. MR. COLEMAN'S ESTIMATION OF SIR ASTLEY COOPER. HIS OFFICIAL USEFULNESS. MR. COLEMAN'S PECULIAR OPINIONS. HIS DEATH.

ASTLEY COOPER arrived in London from his Northern tour towards the conclusion of the autumn of 1788, prior to the commencement of the winter session. He was in every respect improved by his journey; in health, professional knowledge, and general information. We find the following allusions to this period in his memoranda:—

"When I returned to London I found that I had learned much during my absence, and in seeking the sources, from which I had derived most information, Dr. Ash, Gregory, and Fyfe, seemed specially to claim my gratitude. Big with my own importance, I became presumptuous; but was soon taken down by Newell, afterwards of Cheltenham; Shrapnell of Berkeley; and others in the Physical Society.

"About this time Coleman and Taylor were added to Mr. Cline's party, and now I acquired knowledge really. I was a better anatomist than

Coleman,—he was a better theorist than I; and we made the experiments together, which were published in his work on Respiration. This was begun in the idea, that mechanical obstruction in the lungs was the cause of death in drowning, and hanging; but as he went on, he was obliged to add the want of change in the blood. A multitude of experiments were made, some of which proved curious. * * * *

"Taylor was a clever fellow, but entirely a man of pleasure, and hated our dirty experiments, as he was a neat methodical man, and much sought by the ladies of the west-end of the town, who used to fetch him in their carriages.

"Coleman and I attended Mr. Hunter together, and this was exceedingly improving, as we day by day debated all the way home on his doctrines."

Of Dr. Gregory and Mr. Fyfe, I have already spoken in a preceding chapter.

Dr. Ash was a man of eminent abilities as a philosopher and metaphysician, an accomplished classic, and among his professional acquaintance, held in high reputation as a physician. Sir Astley had become acquainted with him in the autumn of 1787, during his stay in Edinburgh, when Ash, although elected only the winter before, was already a conspicuous member of the Royal Medical Society, and indeed, before Sir Astley left that city, was acting as one of its Presidents.

Dr. Ash graduated at Oxford, where he afterwards held the Radcliffe Professorship for some years.

He subsequently removed to London and took up his residence in Argyle-street, but his talents and professional abilities were never justly appreciated by the public, and he died in somewhat indigent circumstances, it has been said, broken-hearted. His name is now chiefly known from certain improvements which he effected in the science of voltaic electricity*. He had married his cousin, the daughter of his uncle, Dr. Ash, a physician of considerable eminence in Birmingham, and a cotemporary and friend of Dr. Withering.

Shrapnell and Newell, Astley Cooper's opponents at the Physical Society of Guy's Hospital, each afterwards became conspicuous; the latter, as an eminent physician at Cheltenham, the former, in circumstances of a more private character.

I was personally acquainted with Mr. Shrapnell, having lived with him a month in barracks at Brighton, about the year 1807. He was a shrewd, clever man, and possessed of as many and varied attainments as any one with whom I have been acquainted. He was a *protégé* of the late Lord Berkeley, with whom he lived on terms of the closest intimacy. The various scientific pursuits in which he was continually engaged, ministered in no small degree to the pleasure and entertainment of that nobleman; while his knowledge of chemistry and power of applying it to agricultural purposes, became a means of essential service in the improvement of his Lord-

* See *Life of Sir Humphry Davy*, by Dr. PARIS, 4to. edit. p. 141.

ship's estate and farms. He was brought into public notice by being connected with the circumstances of the marriage of Lord Berkeley.

Mr. Shrapnell was surgeon to the South Gloucester Militia, which Lord Berkeley commanded: but he did not allow his military life to interfere with his scientific and literary pursuits. His barrack room always presented the appearance of a museum, rather than that usual to the apartment of a military surgeon, being strewed with black-letter books, drawings, old MS., medals, fossils, and other articles of *vertu*. The collecting of these kept him in a continual state of poverty, and I have not unfrequently known him give all the money in his pocket, at the same time perhaps all he had in the world, for a coin or a fossil. His son Henry was in every respect the counterpart of his father, clever, thoughtless, and always in difficulties. He was a most excellent draughtsman, and for some few years was engaged in making anatomical drawings for me, a selection from which he published in illustration of the section on osteology, in my work on Anatomy.

Of Dr. Newell, Sir Astley lost sight soon after the period to which the mention of his name in the passage we have quoted alludes; for on leaving the hospital, he went two or three voyages to India. He afterwards settled as a physician at Cheltenham, where, from his gentlemanly deportment and independent character, he maintained not only the dignified position of a well-accredited physician, but lived on terms of friendship with persons of the

highest rank, who were in the habit of visiting that place of resort.

Sir Astley Cooper's intimacy with Mr. Coleman, the commencement of which is alluded to in the paragraph from his memoranda last quoted, ripened into the closest friendship, and remained uninterrupted until the period of Mr. Coleman's death. Their early acquaintance, and the mutual assistance rendered by each to the other in their studies, combined with the gradual ascent, which they may be said to have made *pari passu* in public and professional distinction, no doubt contributed to the long continuance of their connexion. Mr. Coleman became as distinguished in the particular department of professional study to which he devoted himself, as did Sir Astley in his, and may, indeed, be ranked as the man who first raised veterinary surgery to the character of a science in this country.

My uncle has left among his papers a brief history of Mr. Coleman, a tribute expressive of sentiments, alike honourable to his friend, and to himself, as its author. From this I shall subjoin some extracts, as I have no doubt they will be interesting, inasmuch as they throw a light upon the progress and character of a most eminent and much-respected public man, of whom at present, I believe, no biographical record exists. There can be but little doubt also that the enterprising disposition of Mr. Coleman exerted an important influence on the mind of his friend. The numberless experiments undertaken by him at Mr. Cline's, in

conjunction with his fellow-pupil, probably served in a great measure to confirm the early taste of Astley Cooper for physiological research, and perhaps paved the way for those subsequent experiments which not only proved of such great advantage to him in his professional practice, but have contributed to throw a lustre around the name of Sir Astley Cooper which can never be separated from it.

"Mr. Coleman was born in the month of June, A.D. 1765, in the county of Kent. His father was a respectable yeoman in Romney Marsh, and was what is there called, one of the Lords of the Marsh, there being a peculiar court and laws in that district.

"His son Edward was placed as an apprentice to Mr. Kite, a surgeon, of Gravesend, and with him remained a period of seven years. Mr. Kite was an intelligent man, and had devoted much attention to the subject of asphyxia, both by reading and experiment; and Mr. Coleman thus imbibed an inclination to pursue this study, and make it the subject of further experiments.

"In the year 1789, Mr. Coleman came to London, was placed under the guidance of Mr. Cline, and lived in his family with Mr. Astley Cooper; with Mr. Taylor, who married Lady Lucy Stanhope, and was made Comptroller of the Customs by Mr. Pitt; and with Dr. Clarke, who, afterwards imbibing habits of intemperance, died almost destitute.

"Mr. Coleman had no sooner come to Mr.

Cline's, than he again engaged himself in studying the subject of asphyxia, and he made so many experiments upon cats and dogs, and killed such numbers of these animals, that a friend of his once declared, he had blocked up Houndsditch. These investigations led to the composition of an essay on Suspended Animation, which gained for him the medal of the Humane Society. He also subsequently published a book upon the same subject, which procured for him a high reputation.

"Mr. Coleman and Mr. Astley Cooper attended John Hunter's lectures, walking together up to Leicester Square every evening of their delivery, and relieving the tediousness of so long a walk, by discussing Mr. Hunter's opinions. Mr. Coleman had at this time a curious sympathy between the stomach and skin, which manifested itself by his throwing up the contents of his stomach, whenever he exposed himself to cold air after dinner. No other effect followed.

"In the year 1791, Mr. Coleman quitted Mr. Cline's house, but he always kept up a social intercourse with him and his family, for all of whom he never failed to express his respect and affectionate regard.

"He now removed to Fenn Court, Fenchurch Street, and began to practice as a surgeon, still attending St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals, and dissecting there.

"About 1792 he became acquainted with Sir Wathen Waller, Bart., then Mr. Phipps, one of the

best oculists this metropolis has produced, and who attended the lectures of Mr. Cline. This acquaintance led him to study carefully the structure of the eye, and to make preparations of that organ, both human and comparative, and thus he was brought to know particularly the peculiarities of the organization of the eye of the horse.

"M. St. Bel dying in the year 1793, Mr. Coleman and Mr. Moorcroft, by the recommendation of Mr. Hunter and Mr. Cline, were appointed to the professorship at the Veterinary College, which M. St. Bel had held; Mr. Moorcroft going soon after to the East Indies, Mr. Coleman became sole professor. His acute and active mind was immediately devoted to the formation of a good course of lectures on the Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology of the Horse.

"Mr. Coleman published a treatise on Shoeing. His preceptor, Mr. Cline, who was much attached to the study of the horse, and had perused Clarke's work on Shoeing, instilled his principles into Mr. Coleman. These, Mr. Coleman expanded, and advocated exposing the frog to pressure, leaving the foot in other respects much to itself, and therefore he advised shoeing with short shoes, and leaving the heels exposed. These speculative opinions, however, he improved upon, as he proceeded in life, and he afterwards saw the necessity of thinning the sole and the crust, to allow of the elastic spring of the foot.

"In 1799, he published his great work upon the

Anatomy of the Foot of the Horse, illustrated by numerous and excellent plates. This work was completed in 1802. It did him great credit, and was of much use to the veterinary profession.

"But his chief excellence was in his general physiological views. The effects of a confined atmosphere in close stables; the influence of heat and cold upon the horse; the effects of different kinds and quantities of food; the form of the animal best constituted for action; and the uses of the different organizations; were the subjects upon which he chiefly distinguished himself.

"In teaching, as well as in the practice of his profession, he had the great advantage of being able to apply the principles of Mr. Hunter to veterinary science, and to give to the veterinary student those physiological views, which, even now, are but little known out of our own country.

"His reading was not extensive, and therefore his knowledge was in a great degree his own, excepting that he had learned human anatomy from Mr. Cline, and the principles of physiology and surgery from Mr. Hunter, which he always possessed a remarkable facility in understanding and applying to use.

"By his scientific researches and mental energies, the Veterinary College attained a degree of usefulness and celebrity, which exceeded his most sanguine expectations.

"Under his fostering auspices the progress of the veterinary art was such, as to qualify its prac-

titioners to hold commissions in the Army: and he had himself the honour to be appointed Veterinary Surgeon-General to the British Cavalry, the duties of which post he performed with the most laudable fidelity, and with such advantage to his country, that the number of lives of horses saved by his means was immense.

"His scientific views and high character, made him thought worthy of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of several other scientific associations.

"In society he was a cheerful and delightful companion, and was on terms of intimacy with Jenner, Woodville, Dr. Cooke, Dr. Wells, Dr. Babington, Mr. Abernethy, Dr. Clarke and his brother, Sir Charles Clarke, Sir F. Chantrey, Sir C. Bell, Sir B. Brodie, Mr. J. H. Green, Dr. Bright, Dr. Paris, Dr. Crawford (the author of the work on Animal Heat), and many other choice spirits and intellectual persons. Whatever is a man's pursuit in life, it is knowledge and moral character which give to him his real rank and position; and in proportion as he possesses these, so will he be welcomed in society, respected, and beloved.

"In old age, Mr. Coleman became afflicted with the gout; his liver became diseased; his stomach weakened; and he died at the Veterinary College, on July the 14th, 1839, in the seventy-third year of his age, after a life of great gratification and extensive usefulness, respected by all, and most regretted by those who knew him most intimately.

"He left behind him three daughters, all married; in whose hearts the fondest and most grateful recollection of his parental affection and undeviating kindness will be for ever cherished."

To the possession of similar dispositions and tastes alone can we attribute the extreme and remarkable degree of friendship, which for so many years existed uninterruptedly between these two eminent men. The attachment on the part of Mr. Coleman, towards his friend Sir Astley Cooper, was no less marked than that, which has been already stated to have been felt by Sir Astley for Mr. Coleman. A letter written by Mr. Coleman, at the time of the death of his wife, to Sir Astley, thus commences:—

"*Royal Veterinary College,*
"My dear Sir Astley, *8th March,* 1833.

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your very, very kind letter, with many, many thanks: I shall leave it to my children, and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, as a rich legacy. What are the honours of F.R.S., professor of the Royal Veterinary College, and principal veterinary surgeon to the Army for thirty-seven years, when compared with the honour, the proud distinction, of being considered by Sir Astley Cooper, after more than forty years' intimacy, his *best* male friend? No honours have I ever received, or ever can receive, in my estimation, of equal value, &c."

Sir Astley's reply to the Committee of Management, appointed by the pupils, who, out of esteem for their preceptor, had subscribed together for the purpose of obtaining a bust of Mr. Coleman, though couched in official language, expresses the same feelings:—

"Sir Astley Cooper begs to express his warmest acknowledgements to your Committee, for their kindness in presenting him with a bust of Professor Coleman, who has been his friend nearly fifty years.

"Sir Astley's respect for his talent, the goodness of his heart, and his usefulness as Veterinary Professor, has increased in proportion to the duration of his friendship.

"39, *Conduit Street.*"

Perhaps in no circumstance was the scientific mind of Mr. Coleman rendered of more importance to his country, than in the views which he took, respecting the necessity of strict attention to the ventilation of stables. Thousands a year were saved to government, in consequence of Mr. Coleman's annual visits to the stables of the cavalry depôts throughout Britain; and farcy, which previously to his interference had committed annually most extensive ravages, became nearly erased from the government returns of the diseases, with which the military horses in this country are usually affected.

I have heard a cavalry officer mention a circumstance most illustrative of the beneficial effects of

Mr. Coleman's views respecting ventilation. A stable in which many horses had died in rapid succession, although it had undergone the usual discipline of cleansing and whitewashing, was reported to Mr. Coleman as having some undiscoverable evil, probably arising from its situation. Mr. Coleman accordingly examined it, and having ascertained that its defects arose from a malconstruction, by which all proper ventilation was prevented, recommended Government immediately to make certain alterations, by means of which this would be remedied. This recommendation at first met with considerable opposition, on account of the expense involved in the proposed improvements. His plan, however, was afterwards adopted, and it is a curious fact, that in the first year the expenses of Government were repaid, by the saving, in consequence of the entire absence of disease among the horses.

I had the gratification of knowing Mr. Coleman intimately for many years. It was impossible not to love one so agreeable, kind-hearted, and replete with all those amiable qualities, which endear man to man, and which stamped him at once as a most fitting and congenial associate for my uncle, who was himself no less distinguished than his friend, for the possession of similar traits of character.

Mr. Coleman's principle of shoeing, for the purpose of preventing contracted heels, alluded to in the above history, consisted in paring down the quarters, and bringing the frog upon the ground, so

as to subject it to pressure. To secure this, he invented a shoe which was little else than a 'tip,' and a central longitudinal bar upon which the frog was to rest. The theory of all this was excellent, as it ensured expansion of the heels, but as to its practical applicability to common use, it had the objection of preventing a horse going sound for ten yards.

I remember about fifteen years ago, having purchased a fine black horse, I rode him up immediately to my friend Coleman, and asked him his opinion of my purchase. He examined him carefully, extolled his points, flattered me on my judgment, but said, "He has a slight tendency to contraction of his heels. Go to our forge directly, have my shoes put on him, and you will prevent the mischief to which he seems obnoxious." Having done as he recommended, I mounted the horse immediately afterwards, and no cat in pattens could go more lame. I dared not, however, ride him back to the college to have his shoes taken off, but took him to Turner's, in Regent Street, where common shoes were again put on, and I never knew him go a yard unsound afterwards. Still there can be no doubt of the efficacy of these shoes for a horse, if turned out to grass, or standing in the stable while undergoing treatment for contracted feet.

Mr. Coleman maintained some rather original ideas with respect to the causes of the phenomena usually attending catarrh, or what is commonly called A COLD. He believed that it much more frequently originated from residing in heated and

crowded rooms, and therefore inhaling an impure atmosphere, than from exposure to cold, draughts of air, or the other causes to which the symptoms are ordinarily attributed. He used to illustrate this opinion by referring to the example of the horse, when labouring under the same complaint. "Why," he used to say, "who ever heard of a horse *taking* cold when turned out? but, on the contrary, every one knows that if you put him into a close stable, you will give him a cough directly. The fact is also well known, that after this has occurred, there is no remedy so certain as turning him out to grass, for his cough will leave him in six hours." Half the young horses that die in London are sacrificed to the pernicious practice adopted by London stable-keepers, of excluding every breath of air from the interior of their stables; merely because they know that by this means, the coats of the horses are much more easily kept in fine order, and that a great deal of trouble in grooming is consequently spared.

It was carrying out this principle to its fullest extent that induced him to pay such strict attention to the ventilation of stables, the great public advantages derived from which I have already alluded to. I must acknowledge, however, that I have sometimes suffered from the Professor's extreme love of cold air, for if he ever could manage at his parties to have a window left open unperceived, he was delighted; and many a time when I have dined with him, I have said, "Pray, Mr. Coleman, have your ventilators shut, or I shall be blown out of

the room," at which he has laughed, and had the direction of the current changed by stealth, so as to play perhaps upon some other visitor less sensitive than myself.

I was with my dear old friend twenty-four hours before his death. Pallid, and with every mark of approaching dissolution, excepting loss of spirits, he was lying on a bed placed between two open windows, his head being without any cap or covering of any sort, while his grey locks were literally floating in the wind; for although in July, it was cold and blowing weather. Acquainted as I was with his peculiar notions on this subject, I could not help saying, "My dear sir, you must be cold, thus exposed;" and he said, "No—I have plenty of clothes on my bed, a large fire in my room, and with this pure air passing freely to my lungs, I shall live a few hours longer; but to-day, I think, is my last. The scene of life, Bransby," continued he, "is drawing to a close, and although my career has been a most happy one, I feel much less regret than I expected in leaving it, for I have full confidence in the mercy of God." His enunciation proved prophetic, or in less than twenty-four hours he was no more.

CHAPTER XI.

ASTLEY COOPER IS APPOINTED DEMONSTRATOR AT ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL. IS MADE CO-LECTURER WITH MR. CLINE, A.D. 1791. ESTABLISHES A DISTINCT COURSE OF LECTURES ON SURGERY. DR. HAIGHTON APPOINTED TO THE OBSTETRICAL CHAIR. PROFESSIONAL RIVALRY OF SIR ASTLEY COOPER AND DR. HAIGHTON. ANECDOTE. MR. ASTLEY COOPER ENGAGED TO MISS COCK, OF TOTTENHAM. HISTORY OF HIS INTRODUCTION TO THIS LADY, AND SUBSEQUENT INTIMACY. DEATH OF MR. COCK. MR. COOPER'S MARRIAGE. MRS. KEELING'S DESCRIPTION OF MRS. ASTLEY COOPER.

FROM the session of 1788 until the year 1791, no record has been preserved of any particular events in the life of Sir Astley Cooper, nor does he *himself* make any allusion to this interval.

At some time during this period, most probably about the commencement of the year 1789, he received the appointment of Demonstrator at St. Thomas's Hospital, in the place of Mr. Haighton, who resigning, shortly afterwards obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine. I have already noticed the train of circumstances which mainly contributed to this situation being at once offered to Astley Cooper, as soon as the vacancy occurred. His time seems to have been fully occupied in the discharge of the duties incident to this new position, and his diligent studies in the higher branches of his profession until the year 1791, when, to a still

further extent he began to reap the fruit of his persevering industry.

The degree of professional knowledge which Astley had then attained: the connexions which he had formed with men of eminence: the great popularity which he had acquired among the students at the hospital: together with his long established character for industry and enterprise; all led Mr. Cline to perceive the advantages that were likely to accrue no less to the school, than to his pupil, by associating him with himself in the anatomical lectures. He therefore made an offer to this effect to him, although the time of his pupilage had not yet expired. As might be expected, this proposal was at once accepted, and soon afterwards an arrangement was entered into, that Astley Cooper should give a part of the lectures and demonstrations, Mr. Cline promising him a sum of 120*l.* per annum, to be increased 20*l.* annually, until he gave one half of the lectures, when the profits should be equally divided.

It had been customary in these lectures to consider the sciences of anatomy and surgery together. But Astley Cooper had for some time seen that each of these subjects possessed sufficient intrinsic importance to demand a distinct and separate course, and he accordingly took the present opportunity of attempting to effect their disjunction, by begging that he might be allowed to deliver the lectures on surgery separately. This proposal at first met with opposition, even from his friend and precep-

tor, Mr. Cline; he at last, however, succeeded in his object; and it was arranged that he should take the consideration of the surgical part of the course to himself, and that his lectures should be delivered in the evening at St. Thomas's Hospital. There cannot be a stronger proof of the excellent opinion which was entertained of Astley Cooper at this period, than the circumstance of his being able, young and comparatively inexperienced as he was, to bring about this important change in the long established usage of the hospital. The system he thus commenced in the year 1791, has been continued, and with decided advantage, to the present hour.

To one person only, perhaps, were the arrangements we have just described unsatisfactory: this was Dr. Haighton. The superior age and standing of this gentleman, and the keen susceptibility of his temper at the slightest disrespect to his abilities, (which ... believed to be peculiarly fitted for the advancement of anatomical and surgical science,) could not fail to make him regard this sudden elevation of the young pupil to the lectureships, with jealous feelings; and these he was of a nature too unbending and abrupt to conceal. The high talents, however, which distinguished Dr. Haighton, were not overlooked by the authorities of the hospital, and on the obstetrical chair becoming vacant, it was offered to him, together with the lectureship on physiology. These Dr. Haighton accepted, and perhaps from the great eminence which he afterwards ob-

tained in these departments of science, the abilities which he possessed, were, contrary to his own conviction, directed by the very circumstances which had offended him, into the channel best adapted for their exercise and display.

The feelings which this affair excited, were probably never wholly eradicated from his mind, and although in after life he always spoke of Sir Astley with considerable admiration and respect, both as to his anatomical proficiency and his operative pre-eminence, he still liked to take every opportunity that offered of taunting and disputing with him on professional matters; nor did he find his competitor in any way backward in joining in the conflict. This was particularly obvious in the discussions in which they were both accustomed to join in the Physical Society, and which were rendered more amusing and instructive from the struggles of these eminent men.

Dr. Roots, of Kingston, has recounted to me an anecdote, which well illustrates this feature in the character of Dr. Haighton. On the occasion of an interview between him and Sir Astley, a dispute arose upon a point of some professional importance, which even to this day remains unsettled. The discussion having been carried on for some time with considerable warmth, Sir Astley at last made a remark, the tendency of which was to controvert certain experiments made by the Doctor on the very subject in dispute, and to prove that he had been deceived by several sources of fallacy which had existed in the experiments themselves. To

this the "Merciless Doctor*" (as he was afterwards styled by the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*,) made no reply; but, roused by the remark, he called loudly to his servant, and ordered a pet and favourite spaniel to be immediately brought into the room. He asked Sir Astley to notice his bulk, his healthy aspect, and his good keeping, and this done, put a period to his existence in a moment. He then at once demonstrated the results of a most careful and rigid operation to which the unfortunate animal had been subjected some three or four years preceding this *denouement*." . . . . . .

"I mention this anecdote," continues Dr. Roots, "which was one of many, to show the fervour which could be suddenly called forth in the Doctor's mind, to the support of an asserted doctrine, for if ever he had a favourite in animal life, this poor dog was one: his *Tendo Achillis* had been cut asunder; his *Femoral artery* had been left to nature's curative process, having been subjected to operation; and his *Recurrent nerve*† had been divided,—I rather think, to prevent his making known his subsequent sufferings; and it may be truly said the faithful animal had fairly won his honours; but to confute a rival in a question of science and physiology, my much-

* This appellation is applied to Dr. Haighton in the course of an intemperate critique upon a paper which he read before the Royal Society in the winter of 1797. See *Pursuits of Literature*, p. 419.

† A nerve connected with the power of voice.

valued old friend and master made not the slightest scruple to sacrifice the only animal I ever knew him to be in the least degree attached to. This transaction, I cannot however omit to say, was a source of great annoyance to me, and was the occasion of the only difference that ever existed between us during the whole time I had the advantage of living under his roof. I must again wind up my brief history with stating, that with all his foibles, and they were all of a *little and trifling nature*, Dr. Haighton was a most superior man in his perfect knowledge of the MACHINERY of the human structure."

Mr. Cline, in addition to his high estimate of the abilities of Astley Cooper, had another motive which induced him thus strenuously to advance his young friend with such rapid strides to a position, which promised eventually to procure for him the highest eminence in his profession. My uncle at this time was engaged to Miss Cock, the daughter of a sincere friend and family connexion of Mr. Cline. For this lady he had long felt a most warm attachment, and she in every respect seemed worthy of his choice, and calculated to promote his domestic happiness.

Her father had acquired a considerable fortune as a Hamburgh merchant, and having retired for some years from business, had taken up his residence in West Green Lane, Tottenham, in a large house, having attached to it a considerable estate. To this gentleman Astley Cooper was introduced by

Mr. Cline almost immediately after his arrival in London, and he at once became a favourite and frequent visitor at his house, especially on the Sunday, when he was usually accompanied by Mr. Cline himself, who on this day generally contrived to obtain that recreation and repose, which his numerous engagements in London prevented during the remainder of the week.

The sweetness of manner, amiable disposition, and natural feminine modesty of Mr. Cock's daughter at once produced a great impression on Astley's mind; nor was it surprising that his many manly qualities and beauties of person should have led to a reciprocal attachment on her part. Although at that time the circumstances of Mr. Cooper were not those which a wealthy father might desire in the husband of an only daughter, still he possessed so many compensating good qualities, such an evidently fixed resolution actively to pursue an honourable and distinguished career in life, that it seems Mr. Cock never could make up his mind to oppose the event, which he saw would be the natural result of their intimacy.

The constant care and kindly attention with which Astley at this time attended Mr. Cock during a severe attack of gout, no doubt greatly contributed to secure his favour and affection. His conduct on this occasion was the more creditable, inasmuch as the irritability and peevishness inseparable from the disorder, added to a temper at no time the most placid, must have rendered fre-

quent attendance highly unpleasant to most persons, and to him peculiarly irksome and disagreeable. Notwithstanding the inequality and capriciousness of Mr. Cock's temper, Astley appears to have entertained a sincere regard for him: during the last year or two of his courtship, indeed, my uncle while at Tottenham seems to have divided his attention pretty equally between Miss Cock and her father. This gentleman had now become very infirm, and was unable to take exercise in the open air, except within the limits of his own garden.

Thus originated and was continued that intimacy between my uncle and Miss Cock, which gradually strengthened into the warmest affection and ultimately led to an engagement sanctioned by their parents, with the single restriction of the marriage being postponed until the termination of his pupilage.

Mrs. Keeling informs me that their wedding-day had been fixed for the 21st of November, 1791, but that it was postponed in consequence of the death of Mr. Cock, which occurred on the very day the marriage was to have been solemnized. We have a letter from Mrs. Dr. Cooper to her son Astley, sympathizing with him on the loss of his betrothed's father, and the unavoidable delay in his wedding, from which the following is an extract:—

"* * * * Though you had somewhat prepared me, my dearest Astley, for a melancholy event, yet I was much shocked on finding our fears

realized; but how very exemplary a death, how collected, how resigned! Never did I read a more heart-affecting description. Mr. Cock must have been a very good, *religious*, as well as moral man. Your father was equally concerned with me at the sad deprivation, and equally consoled by the edifying conduct of the exalted sufferer. To what scenes of instruction have you, my love, been admitted, and how gratifying must it have been at the time, and on recollection, to think that your tender attentions alleviated in some degree the pangs of expiring nature, and smoothed the bed of death. Tell my dear Miss Ann we truly sympathize in her feelings, but hope she will not indulge melancholy for a loss to her, which is so happy an exchange for the departed. Assure her she shall ever find a tender father and mother in the Doctor and me, and I hope it will not be long before she really becomes one of the family. I felt a melancholy gratification in Mr. Cock's remembrance of us. Ever shall we venerate and love his memory!"

The above is dated November 25, 1791.

I am enabled to corroborate this account of Mr. Cock's death, by Sir Astley's own description of the trying event, in a letter written to his parents at Yarmouth. From the tone of feeling it displays, and its expressive style, I can but regret that it is the only specimen of his early writing which I possess. The following extract from a letter written by Mrs. Cooper to her intimate friend Mrs. Bon-

hote, the celebrated novelist, explains the means by which this interesting fragment was preserved. The letter was transmitted to me by Mrs. Dryer, the daughter of Mrs. Bonhote.

"* * * * The very day our beloved Astley was to have been married, his father elect died. I must transcribe from my son's letter the affecting and edifying information. Astley says, 'Mr. Cock has long been in a state which rendered death rather a desirable than terrifying event, and he bore the prospect of it with much composure and fortitude. I watched him constantly for some days preceding his death, and saw him in every circumstance show a most perfect resignation to the will of heaven. On Saturday afternoon (the 19th), Miss Ann and myself being in the room, and being perfectly assured of his approaching dissolution, he took an affectionate leave of us both, shaked our hands, and kissed us. He begged me to take care of her, and to be a father to his boys. He then desired all his family might be admitted into his room, took a most tender and affectionate adieu, and gave them all separately his blessing; then sinking on his pillow, he calmly resigned himself to his fate. After resting an hour, he called me to request pen and paper: he then wrote a draft on his banker for twenty guineas for Miss Ann, as he said he had intended to give her a gold watch; and lastly asked for his cash-book, placed the sum there, and balanced the account, to prevent trouble to his executor.

He desired to be affectionately remembered to you and my father. From that time till the Monday, the day of his death, he continued sensible, but spoke little. Mr. Cock showed in his last moments, as he had done in every act of his life, that he was a tender husband and father, an affectionate brother, a sincere friend, and a honest man: his life had been so perfectly moral that he looked back with pleasure, and forward without the smallest fear.'

"Thus far Astley. I must add that I think Mr. Cock must have been not only a *moral* but *religious* man, to have sustained so exemplarily the several duties of life, and the last awful scene of it. At least he must have acted up to his idea of duty. How useful are such scenes! May my dear Astley ever remember those in which he has been engaged, and derive religious improvement from them! Miss Ann, he says, was wonderfully affected. I know not how long it will now be before the marriage takes place."

A short time subsequent to this bereavement, the friends of the young people considered it advantageous, all the arrangements having been previously made, as well as on account of several domestic circumstances, that their marriage should be no longer deferred; and the ceremony, chiefly through the influence of Mr. Cline, was performed before the year was completed. For the sake of privacy, the following plan was adopted. In the month of December, a christening was to take place

from the house of Mr. Cline, and he thought that this would afford an excellent opportunity for his young friends to be united, without attracting much observation, as they might join with the christening party on its way to church. Astley and Miss Cock accordingly accompanied the friends of the infant. The marriage was solemnized, and they afterwards retired, as if they had been merely witnesses of the christening.

By means of this arrangement the marriage was rendered so private, that the news of it did not reach even the bridegroom's professional friends or acquaintance at the hospital. On the evening of the same day on which the ceremony was performed, he met the class in the theatre as usual, and delivered his surgical lecture, and with all the ease and freedom of manner which characterized him on ordinary occasions. Nothing happened, to betray the important change which had taken place in their preceptor's condition of life, since their last meeting, and the pupils dispersed without even a suspicion of the occurrence.

After lecture, Mr. Cooper went to the house in Jefferies Square, which Mr. Cock, promising to himself the happiness of seeing his daughter surrounded with every comfort, had but a short time before his decease purchased and furnished for them. Here Mr. Cooper and his wife resided for several years. After her marriage Mrs. Astley Cooper frequently visited her surviving parent, who, on giving up the large house at Tottenham to her son John,

had gone to a smaller house near that in which Mrs. Keeling resided.

Mrs. Keeling describes Mrs. Cooper as being at this time one of the most interesting young women she had ever seen; and as possessing a pleasing expression of countenance, with a regularity of feature and a modest meekness of demeanour, which prepossessed every one in her favour. On a first acquaintance it was scarcely possible to appreciate the extent of her mental faculties; for the retiring nature of her disposition, almost amounting to timidity, induced in her such a habit of taciturnity as to prevent these qualities being observed. As intimacy increased, the correctness of her judgment became more and more conspicuous, and natural good sense, strength of feeling, excellent taste, and elegance of mind, forcibly exhibited themselves as constituents of her nature. Her prudence and domestic economy appear to have soon made a favourable impression on the young husband. Shortly after their marriage, when walking home one evening with Mrs. Keeling, he detailed with animated delight some evidence of her excellent arrangements, and having eulogized her abilities, and general information, concluded the conversation with a remark which Mrs. Keeling well remembers: "Ah, madam, I never could have married any lady, who, whatever other accomplishments she possessed, had not the power of relaxing my mind after the professional avocations of the day by pleasing conversation."

As neither Mr. nor Mrs. Cooper had ever been on the Continent, they determined to visit Paris at the earliest opportunity which presented itself. But this circumstance is of so much importance, on account of the events which occurred during their stay in France, that I must reserve the description of it to the following chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

MR. AND MRS. COOPER VISIT PARIS, A.D. 1792. MR. COOPER'S DEMOCRATICAL BIAS. HIS PARENTS' ANXIETY ON THIS ACCOUNT. HE ATTENDS THE MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AT PARIS. STUDIES UNDER DESAULT AND CHOPART. ANECDOTES OF THESE SURGEONS. THE TENTH OF AUGUST. SIR ASTLEY'S DESCRIPTION OF HIS FLIGHT FROM THE HOSPITAL TO HIS HOTEL. SCENES WHICH HE WITNESSED AT PARIS. DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING HIS PASSPORT. WEARS THE DEMOCRATIC BADGE AND ATTENDS THE HOSPITAL. RETURNS TO LONDON. VISITS YARMOUTH.

SOON after the winter campaign had concluded at the hospitals, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper crossed over to the Continent and paid a visit to Paris. The gratification they might naturally expect to derive, as well from the journey itself, as the numberless interesting objects of the French metropolis, would sufficiently account for their making this city their place of destination. On the part of Mr. Cooper, however, this agreeable anticipation was enhanced by the opportunity which the visit promised him, of comparing the practice of the French surgeons with that of the surgeons of his own country, and thus of insuring, in the investigation of their several distinctions and peculiarities, a great increase of professional knowledge.

But from what I have already said of the political feelings imbibed by Mr. Cooper in the course

of his association with Mr. Cline, and that gentleman's acquaintance, the reader will anticipate another source of expected pleasure in this visit. I allude to the opportunity it offered him of witnessing the great political struggle which was then rife in Paris; a struggle, which was not only inducing the most intense interest in the French metropolis, but, from the rapid strides with which democracy was hourly advancing, threatened to shake the government of France itself to its very foundation.

Mr. Cooper's friends were well aware, to how great an extent the attraction of this journey was increased by the tendency of his political feelings. His parents, while expressing their wishes that the visit might prove to him not only agreeable, but also of professional advantage, could not forbear at the same time indulging the hope, that it might be attended with the ulterior benefit of removing the loose sentiments, which had usurped the place of those originally inculcated in him. It cannot be a matter of surprise that the democratical tendency of his mind should have been a subject of extreme anxiety and regret to his parents: not only on account of the repugnance with which they themselves had always regarded such views, but from the notorious characters of some of those whose doctrines he quoted in conversation, and whose influence seemed all-powerful over him. Knowing the earnest and independent disposition of their son, they naturally feared that he might

become involved in the ruin, to which some of his companions seemed recklessly hurrying themselves, and thus at once destroy all his prospects of future advancement in life; for he did not by any means attempt to conceal the tenor of his political feelings, but, on the contrary, appeared to take every opportunity which occurred to him of avowing them."

There can be but little doubt that his connexion with the Speculative Society at Edinburgh to a great extent manifested his political bias, although, according to the following letter from Professor Alison, political subjects were only occasionally mooted in the Society at that time. The opinions which he expressed in the discussions and the doctrines he advocated*, sufficiently exhibited that loose unsettled state of mind, which was so frequently found to exist in those, who admitted the revolutionary tenets of that day.

"He appears to have been in the Speculative Society, before the time when the political subjects, brought on the tapis by the French revolution, were much discussed there; and to have taken an interest in the metaphysical questions, which previously to that time occupied much of the attention of the students at Edinburgh. The side he took on these subjects was that, which was then most popular among the aspiring youths of the university. I suppose they occupied very little of his attention

* See page 170.

in after life. If they had done so, he would probably, like several of his contemporaries, have modified somewhat the opinions which he seems to have held in 1788, &c."

In the town of Yarmouth, there was about this time a further temptation, which excited him publicly to manifest his views on these matters. A Society existed there, open to persons of all parties, which had originally been intended for purposes of recreation and scientific discussion, but gradually became devoted to the consideration chiefly of the political events of the period. As it might be expected, the discussions on these subjects, when men everywhere were holding such extreme and violent opinions, were not confined to sober reasoning and argument. Mr. Astley Cooper, when at Yarmouth, seems to have been very frequently present at these meetings, and it appears that there was scarcely any one of the members who exceeded him in the boldness and energy of his remarks. In the summer before his visit to Paris, I am informed that he not only espoused with much warmth the cause of the democratic party and their tenets, but was also most active in opposing all those who differed from them in opinion.

To the discussions at this Society, the Rev. Mr. Crompton attributes, to a considerable extent, the cessation of friendship between himself and Lord Chedworth, the circumstances of which are already before the public. It is singular that he points to Astley Cooper as one of the members who, by

the political warmth to which his remarks hurried Mr. Crompton, chiefly led to this estrangement.

Mr. Crompton, however, is in error in attributing the violent remarks of Mr. Cooper to a mere love of sport and mischief; but this mistake is readily accounted for, as he wrote from memory, nearly forty years after the circumstances which he related had occurred, and at a time when the sentiments of Sir Astley Cooper were very different from those which he had formerly held. I extract from the Introduction to Mr. Crompton's publication of Lord Chedworth's Letters the portion alluded to.

"In Yarmouth, where I lived at this time, and where Lord Chedworth was accustomed to pay an annual visit, there was then a Society of gentlemen who met once a fortnight for the purpose of amicable discussion. Our members, (alas! how few remain,) were of all parties and persuasions, and some of them of very distinguished attainments. A Society thus constituted was, *in those days*, as pleasant as it was instructive. The most eager disputation was never found to endanger the most perfect good will; nor did any bitter fruits arise from this entire freedom of opinion, till the prolific period of the French Revolution. On this subject our controversies became truly impassioned. The present Sir Astley Cooper, then a *very young* man, was accustomed to pass his vacations with his most excellent father, Dr. Cooper, a name ever to be by

me beloved and revered. It was the amusement of our young friend to say things of the most irritating nature, I believe, like Lady Honoria Pemberton, in the novel, 'merely to see who would make the ugliest face.' Thus circumstanced, it was not in my philosophy to be the coolest of the party; nor can I doubt but I, &c. * * *."

The following is taken from the last letter written by Mrs. Cooper to her son Astley, prior to his departure from England. After wishing him and her daughter-in-law a safe and pleasant tour, Mrs. Cooper proceeds:—

"Mrs. and Miss Edwards will, I am certain, lament your absence from town, for Mrs. Edwards in her letter last week says, 'Every time we see your amiable daughter, we feel ourselves more attached to her. She is a charming woman! Your son has indeed shown his discernment in his choice. They seem to be formed to render each other happy in the married state.' She mentions meeting Mrs. —— at your house, and adds, 'she appears to be a perfect contrast to Mrs. A. Cooper.'

* * * * *

"God bless ye, dear, dear children, and grant us a happy meeting at Yarmouth in September. Write to us as often as you can find leisure, for we shall be anxious to know you are arrived in safety, and that you both continue well, and are happy.

"With the united tenderest regards of every

individual of this family to both our beloved children, believe us to be,

"Your ever most affectionate parents,

"S. Cooper. M. S. Cooper.

"*May 17th*, 1792."

"Dr. Girdlestone desires to be remembered to you in kind regards and best wishes. Your dear father says, he makes no doubt though you leave England a *Democrat*, you will be so far enlightened as to return an *Aristocrat*."

Mr. Astley Cooper would have been saved from much care and anxiety, and would have avoided an imminent risk to which he was a few years afterwards exposed of losing the opportunity of professional elevation, had his father's hopes in this matter been realized.

He arrived in Paris, without any occurrence of note, about the month of June, 1792, and at once wrote to his mother, in compliance with her wishes. A few days after the receipt of this letter, Mrs. Cooper, in writing to her friend, Mrs. Bonhote, remarks, "Our dear Astley and his wife were safe last week in Paris, but from the state of political affairs in that place, I wish they were removed from it. How shocking must be the scene!—but our young man has imbibed democratic principles at Mr. Cline's, and does not feel as he ought for the royal sufferers, and for the aristocratic party."

It is certainly remarkable, when we reflect on

the persons who at this period were assuming to themselves the leading places among the democrats of France, that Astley Cooper should not at once have been led to give up opinions which were advocated by such miscreants. There is no doubt that he must have been thoroughly aware of their characters, for in his notes referring to this period, he mentions that he attended the meetings of the National Assembly, and several times heard Brissot, Vergniaud, Danton, Marat, Robespierre, and other leaders of the party, address the Assembly. The tenor of their remarks was to exasperate the mob still further to revenge the death of what they termed the victims of the 10th of August: nothing seemed likely to satisfy them but the destruction of the last life hostile to the revolution. The violent contortions of their features, and the gestures with which their harangues were accompanied, gave to them a fiendish expression, which I have heard Sir Astley describe, as having produced in his mind a horror hardly less than that which was excited by the bloody scenes perpetrated at their instigation, many of which he witnessed. Nothing but an earnest conviction of the truth of the views which he had imbibed from Mr. Cline, and the talented, though misguided men with whom he had associated, could have induced him to continue to hold these opinions under such circumstances. Extraordinary as the fact is, however, the reader will hereafter perceive, that a short time only had elapsed after his return to England, before he manifested the same political bias

which possessed him previously to his excursion to Paris.

But however much he may have sought to gratify his curiosity and political feelings, by witnessing the great changes which were being wrought upon society in France, we yet find that Astley Cooper did not allow these heart-stirring events to disturb the prime object of his ambition, the acquirement of professional knowledge. Immediately on his arrival in Paris, he at once commenced attending the lectures of Desault and Chopart, men whose names remain as eminent in posthumous fame as they were great during their lives.

Of Desault, who in less than three years after this period met with a sudden death, Sir Astley says in his memoranda, that he "was a good anatomist and an excellent manipulating surgeon; but, as far as I could judge, not possessing the higher scientific principles, which are necessary to constitute a surgeon of the first order.

"I once saw him dissect out a diseased absorbent gland from the neck of a boy, and having succeeded in its removal, he began to extirpate another; but his assistant suddenly looked up in the face of M. Desault, and said, 'Monsieur, le garçon est mort.' The boy was removed from the operating table, but the cadavre was brought in the next day, in order to show us that no great vessel had been wounded.

"This was a most unscientific operation; for to remove important structures, subjected only to a

disease, which in itself is really but a sign of a peculiar deranged state of the constitution, cannot effect any useful result. But Desault was quick-sighted."

In illustration of this last feature in the character of Desault, Sir Astley relates the following anecdote, which will scarcely fail to recall the circumstances of the Duke of Gloucester's well-known detection of the impostor Simpcox, in the reign of Henry VI.

"A boy came before Desault, and said to him, 'Sir, my right arm is paralytic.' Desault directly suspected him to be an impostor, and said suddenly, 'Otez votre chapeau.' The boy, taken by surprise, at once raised his right arm from his side, by which it had been lying as if it were powerless, and took off his hat. Desault said to one of his pupils, 'Donnez-moi votre baton,' and he beat the boy severely. 'D'où venez-vous, garçon?' 'Du Faubourg de St. Antoine, Monsieur,' replied the urchin, crying. 'Oui, je le croyais,' said Desault, 'tous les coquins viennent de ce quartier-là;' for he was a great aristocrat."

"Chopart was a good kind of old woman, of little firmness of character, lost his fortune by the Revolution, and became poor in old age. He was surgeon to the hospital of the Academy.

"He was operating when the first cannon was fired on the 10th of August, 1792. I was present, but at once rushed out of the hospital. I ran to the Pont Neuf, to see what was going on, and saw the Swiss guards at the windows of the Château

firing upon the mob on the bridge and along the quay of the Louvre. The streets were all confusion, from persons running, and others coming out of their houses to shut up their shops, and falling over each other. I ran back to the hospital, but the surgeons had all fled.

"I therefore was obliged to pass over one of the bridges, but higher up than the scene of conflict. On my way, a woman called out, 'Voilà un aristocrate!' pointing to me. I said, 'Je suis Anglais.' She said, 'Ah! mon Dieu! donc vous êtes en sûreté.'

"I saw a hackney coach, and called for it; but the coachman said, 'Je ne veux point d'aristocrate dans mon fiacre,' which I was supposed to be from being dressed in black, and the court was in mourning.

"After crossing the bridge, the scene was terrific,—cannon firing constantly,—volleys of musketry in every direction,—the tocsin sounding from every turret,—women crying,—litters conveyed along the streets, bearing the wounded and the dying; but at last I reached my hotel, in the Passage des Petits Pères, in safety.

"I found my dear wife much alarmed, and she was at the time *enceinte*. We sat down together at the window of the hotel, and presently a mob passed, carrying the heads of some of the Swiss guards they had killed, twenty-two in number. Each person had some trophy; some had cut off a finger, some a hand; and soon afterwards we saw a Swiss soldier

chased, like a hare, along the street, and the people following him, trying to kill him; he escaped, however, to a *corps de garde*, being more lucky than many others, whom we saw butchered by the mob.

"We were particularly alarmed at our hotel, as General Money, of Norwich, had been at the Château all night with the king, and we expected on his return to us that he would be followed by a mob; but he prudently remained concealed, and so escaped notice.

"In the evening the gardens of the Tuilleries were full of dead men, close to the Château, and there they lay naked, having been stripped of all their clothes by the mob.

"On the next day Ann and I went to the Hotel d'Espagne, and passed through the mob, which were escorting Louis XVI. and his queen to the Temple.

"The cruelties committed now became more frequent; but the reign of terror was never more full of horror than on the morning of the 2nd of September, when the prisoners of the Abbaye were murdered by the infuriated populace, led on to the bloodthirsty act by Robespierre and his associates. The doors of the prison were thrown open, and as the poor wretches rushed out, some of the least suspicious, in the hopes of freedom, were butchered by the people, many of whom complained to their reckless leaders that they had not been placed prominently enough to stain their swords, and to claim the reward which the Committee of the Munici-

pality had offered them in proportion to the havoc they committed."

This event, above all others, seems to have horrified and disgusted Mr. Cooper; and the continued state of alarm in his wife's mind, together with the peril and uncertainty naturally resulting from the destruction of all proper restraint and order, and the consequent dominion of capricious ferocity and passion, produced such a depression of spirits and degree of anxiety, as to be no longer supportable, and he at once determined to return to England.

A difficulty, however, arose as to his obtaining passports; and his stay in Paris was prolonged to a still later period than he intended, from this cause. Many foreigners were thus detained, who were anxious to leave the city, from a reasonable doubt of their security against the violence of the infuriated mob. Most of the English were in a state of great alarm, and they remained shut up in their rooms, or hid in cellars, days together. Mr. Cooper frequently, when the city was disturbed either by more dreadful outrages than ordinary, or by some of the fearful reports which were then prevalent, would remain at the hotel with his wife, in company with other English friends; but he more frequently went to the hospital, wearing some democratic badge, and occupied his time in services, useful no less to himself than to the poor wretches with which the beds were filled,—either democrats wounded by

musketry, or some few of the aristocratic party, who, although mutilated by sabre wounds, had escaped with their lives from the murderous hands of the assassins.

About the middle of September, however, Mr. Cooper succeeded in obtaining his passport, and, together with his wife, left Paris to return to England. They came over in company with Mr. Twiss, the traveller, who published a Trip to Paris.

Soon after his arrival in London, leaving Mrs. Cooper in town, he paid a visit to his father's at Yarmouth, as we ascertain by the following extract from one of Mrs. Cooper's letters to Mrs. Bonhote:—

"Our Astley is unexpectedly with us. He returned from that horrid country last week, and came down to us on Sunday. My daughter Astley was too big, and too much fatigued with her journey and voyage, to accompany him here. She expects to be confined in October. I fancy they are a very happy couple. I pray God to increase their comforts in their offspring."

There is no well authenticated account of the immediate influence produced upon the mind of Mr. Cooper by the stirring events which had come under his notice in Paris. If they had in any degree diminished his democratic zeal, he has not acknowledged on paper any change of political feeling; in accordance, I think, with a dislike which he always manifested to making any mention of his

views at this period. The following sentence is all that occurs:—

"A revolution may sometimes be a good thing for posterity, but never for the existing generation, for the change is always too sudden and violent."

This sentence, which was written in 1836, under very different circumstances, both with relation to France and to his own condition, to the period at which the events just described occurred, cannot be supposed to have any particular reference, but must be taken for what it is in itself—a general observation, equally applicable to all revolutions of whatever tendency or nature.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Cooper encourages Persons to come to his House for Gratuitous Advice. Continued Industry at the Hospital. His First Course of Surgical Lectures. Changes the Plan of his Lectures. Effect of the Alteration. Importance of this Period in Mr. Cooper's Professional History. His Attention to the Cases in the Hospital. The Birth of his Child. Mr. Cooper at the Physical Society. Mr. Thelwall's Position and Conduct in this Society. Anecdotes of Sir Astley Cooper, from "Life of Thelwall," published by his Widow. Mr. Thelwall's Lectures. Anecdotes. Anecdote of Thelwall at the Physical Society. Mr. Cooper's Republican Feeling still continues. His Position in 1793. His Anxiety concerning the Health of his Child. Is appointed Professor of Anatomy to Surgeons' Hall.

Upon Mr. Cooper's return to London, he again diligently devoted himself to the acquirement of every branch of professional knowledge. He offered encouragement to the poorer residents in his neighbourhood to come to him early on a morning, and receive gratuitous advice. His object appears to have been purely to acquire by these means a greater familiarity with disease in all its forms, and to study the best means for its treatment and cure.

It might at first be supposed that Mr. Cooper adopted this plan as a means of procuring private practice; but he himself says this was not his

object, and his whole conduct at this period proves that he had a higher purpose in view. To perfect himself as much as possible in his profession, before he sought after the more serious duties of practice, was his fixed determination; and this plan he was fortunately enabled to accomplish the more readily, from the absence of all anxiety on pecuniary matters. In addition to the income he was deriving from his lectures at the hospital, Mr. Cooper had come into possession, on his marriage, of a fortune of fourteen thousand pounds, and was thus rendered comparatively independent of practice. Indeed his attendance at the hospital occupied so much of his time, that his consequent absence from home would have been in itself a sufficient bar to obtaining professional occupation elsewhere, even had he sought it.

The following memorandum substantiates the above account, and exhibits, in detail, the proofs of his unwearied ardour, not only in the furtherance of his own knowledge, but also in the advancement of the students committed to his care at the hospital:—

"For three years after my apprenticeship expired, I did not seek business, but devoted myself to the study of my profession, and to teaching the students entirely. My industry at this time may be gathered from the following circumstances.

"I went to the hospital before breakfast to dissect for lecture. I demonstrated to the students before lecture. I injected their subjects. I lectured from two o'clock till half-past three. In the

evening, three times per week, I lectured on surgery. I attended to the interesting cases in the hospital, making notes of them, and in this latter practice I always persevered."

His lectures at the hospital continued to engage his most earnest attention. His perfect knowledge of anatomy had at once secured the success of his lectures on this subject. The surgical course, however, which he had established, seemed more unsettled, and these lectures, therefore, occupied much of his thoughts. I have heard him often say how much he was disappointed in regard to the fresh entries, at the beginning of this, his second course, in 1792, the number of pupils being less by twenty-five, than it had been at the former course. At first he found it difficult to account for this falling off of his class, as he had not only taken great pains in the construction of his lectures, but had adopted the recently-divulged doctrines of John Hunter as his model. He had been led to follow this plan, from the belief that the manner in which surgery was before treated, in connexion with anatomy and physiology, tended rather to increase the interest of those sciences, than to place surgery itself in the position it deserved.

Upon further consideration, however, he discovered the cause of the unpopularity of his previous course, and of the consequent falling off in the commencement of his second, and he then began to contemplate the means necessary to be

employed to ensure his success in future. It struck him at once, that however just his first views had been in teaching surgery to his pupils upon the sound principles of John Hunter, still it was necessary, not only that his auditors should have a previous understanding of the meaning of John Hunter, but that they should have advanced to a considerable extent in the general knowledge of surgery, in order for them to comprehend the application of his theory to their practice. He therefore determined to change his plan; nor had he to go far a-field, to discover another which promised to be not only popular in itself, but more readily to secure the ultimate object he had in view —of so combining the doctrines of Hunter with the science of surgery, that they alone should regulate its practice. For this purpose, he selected the cases of disease, and the casualties admitted into the two hospitals, and bringing such of them before the notice of the pupils, as would illustrate the subject on which he was treating, he first pointed out to them the nature of the disease or accident, described the appropriate treatment, and afterwards inculcated the theoretical views which indicated it. The effect at once was evident; his class,—of which even the industrious members had listened to him with strained attention, and the idle and ignorant, with negligence,—was at once changed into a collection of pupils interested in the subject, and attentive to the teacher.

Nor was it difficult to account for this change;

the order in which practice and principles were thus combined, and the familiar manner in which the instruction was delivered, rendering the simplest understanding competent to receive and appreciate his views. From this moment his class increased, and a fresh interest was excited even in his own mind, with respect to every patient admitted into the hospital. Each case, indeed, assumed a two-fold importance,—on the one hand, as a source of improvement to the pupils, by affording an illustration of the doctrines taught them in the lecture-room; and, on the other hand, to himself, inasmuch as they furnished him with an opportunity of discovering the best modes of treatment, and also of testing the correctness of those principles which he had imbibed from John Hunter, and was in the habit of delivering to his class.

From this plan he acquired a facility which never afterwards left him, of bringing rapidly to his recollection a series of cases or circumstances, in illustration of any particular case which might be occupying his attention. He would say, for instance, "Ay, I remember Mr. so-and-so had a patient under him with precisely similar symptoms: it was treated so-and-so, and did well." A second and a third would, with equal rapidity, occur to him, and his summing up, upon such retrospection, would not only direct the proper steps to be taken for the case under consideration, but also furnish a rule of conduct for any similar exigency. To this happy power of calling to mind parallel and appropriate

examples, he attributed much of the success which attended him in practice in after life; for he used to say, "It is not the number of cases which a surgeon has seen, but it is his ready application of them, which renders his knowledge of practical utility, and constitutes him an efficient surgeon."

Upon reflecting on his early failure as a surgical teacher, the consequent alterations of his plans, and his subsequent unparalleled success, we cannot but notice, that here, as so frequently occurs, the very circumstances which, in our first short-sighted impressions, seem full of misfortune, turn out to be after all the sources of essential benefit.

It must be evident to those who knew the constitution of Astley Cooper's mind, that the power of deep philosophical research was not one of its attributes. Had he, therefore, devoted himself either to extending the system of John Hunter, or to founding one more generally acceptable, his labours would, in all probability, have been eventually attended with failure. Close and accurate observation, correct and forcible description, and an unwearied industry in the pursuit of discovery, were his peculiar characteristics, and all these, from the new channel into which his labours were now directed, were called into requisition.

This period, young as Mr. Cooper was as a surgeon, I think will be found to be the most important in his professional career. He was in the full vigour of life, occupied wholly in professional study, gratified and stimulated by rising popu-

larity, and not engaged in any pursuit out of his profession, or if any, not of a kind to interfere with the grand object of his ambition.

However much some persons may be inclined to attribute his success wholly to good fortune, a review of this period offers a sufficient proof that the zeal, talent, judgment, and industry which he exhibited, were, in themselves, sufficient to have led to the position he afterwards so justly attained. It may, however, certainly be considered a circumstance of good fortune, that John Hunter should, at this eventful period of Astley Cooper's life, have promulgated his peculiar doctrines, and thus have offered an opportunity to Mr. Cooper of taking an untrodden path in the teaching of surgery.

At this time none of the surgeons eminent for extensive practice placed any confidence in the surgical knowledge of John Hunter, who was chiefly known as a philosopher by means of his lectures and writings; they even contended against his views, as mystifying, if not inapplicable to the treatment of disease. Mr. Cooper, however, seems better to have understood the gist and value of the doctrines of this great man, and to have embraced at once the opportunity offered him of striking into a path no less novel than correct. But even in attributing these important events in Astley Cooper's life to good "luck," it must be admitted, that it required a capacious mind, and much attention and industry, to estimate the intrinsic value of those doctrines, which so few others at that time could

even comprehend, but which have since justly risen into the highest reputation in England, and are gradually extending their influence over the surgical practice of the whole of Europe.

It is notoriously the case, that those who have promulgated any new and important doctrines, are rarely honoured, during the period of their life, with the estimation due to their merits; but that when death has removed all sources of jealousy and envy, the validity of their principles becomes acknowledged, and that praise, which was withheld during their lives, is lavished on them, when no longer sensible of its influence. Such a train of thought seems to have occupied the mind of Sir Astley Cooper, some thirty years after the grave had closed on John Hunter, when he made the following rough notes, which I have found among his papers:—

"Although Mr. Hunter and his opinions were so much esteemed after his death, yet I remember that the surgeons and physicians of his day thought him a mere imaginative speculator, and, any one who believed in him, a blockhead, and a black sheep in the profession. I have heard surgeons say, 'What do you mean by *action*, and all such nonsense?' and men, too, who now extol him to the skies. I once heard a learned person pronounce, that the solution of the stomach after death was one of his vagaries, and that his theory of adhesion was enough to stick in any man's throat; while, at this day, there are

but few of his principles, which men of real science do not swallow with avidity."

Such a jocose mode of expression was probably not intended for the public eye; but while, at the same time, it forcibly exemplifies the high opinion, which, at this late period of his life, Sir Astley Cooper maintained of the character of John Hunter; it also furnishes an example of his habit of mingling a train of pleasantry with the most scientific and serious subjects.

Mr. Cooper's lectures on surgery, from the nature of the system on which they were remodelled, demanded his constant attendance in the wards; he therefore made it a rule to accompany Mr. Cline and the other surgeons in their rounds, and while making his own observations, pointed out to such of his surgical class as were with him the cases most worthy of remark, occasionally enlarging upon their peculiarities, or eliciting opinions concerning them from the older surgeons. He thus contrived to throw a degree of interest around the hospital practice, which previously had been almost unknown. He formed, as it were, a continued and regular course of clinical instruction, which was not the less acceptable, perhaps, because it was freed from the technicality of a regular lecture.

Another source of advantage to Mr. Cooper as a surgical teacher, was, what we have already noticed, the permission he gave to the poor pa-

tients to come to him at his house, early in the morning, for advice. Not only did he derive from this plan the benefit of seeing and studying the diseases, with which they were afflicted; but, by sending those who were the most fit objects for relief to the hospital, he secured a constant supply of interesting cases: and was thus also enabled to keep in the wards examples of any particular disorder in which he was taking an interest, or which he might be at the time explaining in his lectures. To induce the poor to come to him, he purchased and constantly kept at hand a stock of those common remedies, which he was most frequently in the habit of using, and liberally bestowed them on those whose means would not allow them to take his prescriptions to the chemist's shop in the usual manner. This was a great boon to this class of people, for there were very few dispensaries in those days.

While thus actively employed in his professional pursuits, his chief source of relaxation and enjoyment appears to have been the visits which he used to make, in company with his wife, to Mrs. Cock and her family at Tottenham. He seems now to have felt himself settled in the world, equally established in professional as domestic life, and with scarcely any source of anxiety but that which is inseparable from the expectation of a first-born child—a circumstance, however, which, to judge from some private memoranda of Sir Astley's, as the period of Mrs. Cooper's accouchement approached, caused him no

little care and uneasiness. This was easily accounted for by the delicate state of Mrs. Cooper's frame. She was by no means a person of robust health, and the fatigues, as well as uneasiness of mind, to which she had been subjected during her recent visit to Paris, had rather tended to weaken than to strengthen her constitution. In November, however, she was safely delivered of a female infant, and under circumstances which were as favourable as the most anxious husband could have desired. The child in a few days received the name of Anna Maria. Mr. Cooper's previous anxiety on his wife's account was fully repaid by her rapid recovery, and the progressive development of the faculties of the little infant became another source of relaxation to him, from the continued exercise of his arduous professional labours.

I find from the records of this period of the Physical Society at Guy's, that my uncle was a regular attendant at its meetings; and what is curious, too, that his old associate Thelwall was one of the most conspicuous of its members. A short time previously, Mr. Thelwall, without entering regularly on the study of the medical profession, had received tickets of admission to the lectures on anatomy by Mr. Cline; on physiology by Dr. Haighton; and chemistry by Dr. Babington. His letter to Mr. Cline, in his principal work on *Impediments of Speech*, &c., sufficiently shows that he never intended to follow medicine as a profession; his object, therefore, in attending these

lectures, was probably merely to accumulate information to substantiate his peculiar tenets of materialism, to which, by an ill-directed mind, the study of physiology and anatomy might easily be rendered subservient. Another motive might however induce him to attend these lectures, as at any rate it gave him an opportunity of useful employment, and offered means of his attaching himself to what might afterwards prove a legitimate object in life. To such an use indeed, some years afterwards, he did turn the knowledge thus acquired, for he devoted himself in after life to the teaching of elocution, and the correction of defective articulation in those who laboured under the habit of stammering.

The part Mr. Thelwall took in the proceedings of the Physical Society, so long as he remained a member, was of the most active description. He had been elected an ordinary member during the preceding session, and from the interest he then exhibited in its affairs, as well as from his connexion with Mr. Cline, and intimacy with Astley Cooper, Coleman, and other leading members, he was, at the beginning of this session (1792), chosen one of the committee of management. He appears, in this capacity, to have most actively performed the duties it devolved on him; for in the early part of the month of January, on account of a falling off in the attendance at the meetings, he, with the assistance of another member of the Committee, Dr. Maclaurin, proposed a series of resolutions, one of which was

to institute a committee of inquiry into the cause of this lukewarmness on the part of its members. This proposition was adopted by a large majority. The committee met a few days afterwards, on the 17th of the month, Mr. Thelwall being chosen its president, and in consequence, on the 19th, a general meeting of all the members was convened to hear the suggestions which they had to lay before the Society. On this evening I find Thelwall by letter regretting that he was obliged to send the account of the proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry, he being prevented personally appearing with them, in consequence of an engagement "at a meeting of the Society of the Friends of the Liberty of the Press, of which he was a member."

Nor did he confine himself to assisting in regulating the economy of the Society only, for at a meeting on the 26th of the same month he read a paper; which, from the length of the period the discussion upon it occupied, as well as the language of the letter of thanks which was afterwards voted to him, appears to have attracted much attention. I subjoin the extracts from the Society's books which allude to this paper. It is to be regretted that no record is preserved, either of the document itself, or of those who took part in the subsequent discussion. The custom of the Society then was only to keep minutes of private business, and of the communications, which, under the title of "Medical News," preceded the reading of the papers. The entries relating to this essay are the following:—

"January 26th, 1793. Mr. Haighton in the chair. Mr. Thelwall read his essay on Vitality, which was in part discussed.

"February 2nd, 9th, 15th, 23rd. The discussion on Mr. Thelwall's paper on Vitality was continued.

"March 2nd, 1793. Mr. Haighton in the chair. (Sixth evening.) Dr. Maclaurin moved that a letter of thanks, signed by the presidents and secretary, be transmitted to Mr. Thelwall for his excellent and very valuable dissertation on Animal Vitality—the abilities he displayed during the discussion—and the instruction which this institution has received from his assistance in the debates thereon. This motion was seconded by Mr. Coleman, and unanimously carried.

"Confirmed. JOHN TURNER MERRITT.
GEO. JOHNSON, *Secretary.*"

The nature of this paper, contrasted with the usual topics of discussion, shows that the author did not omit to select a subject in itself so metaphysically obscure, as to give him an opportunity of mingling materialism with it, and warrants the suggestion before given of the reason for his attendance at these hospitals. He does not appear, indeed, during the time he was connected with the schools of medicine, in a single instance, to have directed his attention to a purely professional object.

It is curious that we should find Astley Cooper thus again thrown into frequent communication with Mr. Thelwall, to whose influence the best friends of the former had already attributed the taint in his political and religious principles. In Thelwall's Life, written by his widow, allusion is made to the intimacy which at this period existed between him, Mr. Coleman, and Sir Astley Cooper, and the following facts are mentioned:—

Mr. Thelwall was the subject of violent palpitation of his heart, which sometimes beat so loudly as to be heard at an amazing distance: so much so, indeed, that, on one occasion, some person passing him in the street was attracted by the sound, and stopped to ask him if what he heard really proceeded from the beating of Mr. Thelwall's heart, as he could hardly believe the circumstance. This disease, for some years, seemed to have entirely left him, but, in the year 1829, it returned with increased vehemence, and Mrs. Thelwall states, that at night she has been awakened from her sleep by the violence of the palpitations of her husband's heart, and that she has at first imagined the sound to proceed, so distinctly loud was it, from some one knocking at the door.

Mr. Thelwall must have, at an early period of his attack, talked to Sir Astley about his disease, for it is stated that he promised Sir Astley his heart, should he die first, an intention which, says Mrs. Thelwall, he meant to have fulfilled. She does not, however, mention the circumstances which prevented his promise being carried into effect. Sir Astley used jocularly to say, Mr. Thelwall had informed her, in allusion to his disease, "That Thelwall had an exceedingly good head, but an excessively bad heart."

Even at this early period of his life, Mr. Thelwall appeared frequently before the public, and he would often leave the lecture-room at the hospital for the purpose of delivering a lecture himself at

Coachmakers' Hall, or some similar institution. Mr. Harrison, the Treasurer of the hospital, informs me that, on one of these occasions, he went to listen to him. The lecture which Thelwall then delivered was upon the evils of the slave trade; a topic calculated no less to call forth his own powers of eloquence than the interest and sympathies of his audience, and therefore a favourite subject with him. After vividly painting the horrible sufferings to which the slaves were subjected, he proceeded to describe a mask which he said they were forced to wear, and which was so constructed that, whilst it permitted them to breathe, and perform the duties of their occupation without difficulty, it at the same time prevented the possibility of any indulgence being afforded to the cravings of their appetite. Having, with some minuteness, given an account of this instrument, he suddenly drew one forth from a place near him, and fitted it to his face. The effect of this theatrical experiment was not such as he had anticipated: for instead of exciting expressions of horror and pity at the sufferings of those to whom he stated such an apparatus was applied, a conviction of the absurdity of his account seemed at once to rush into the minds of his audience. His stratagem was accordingly received with shouts of laughter, and he himself, on removing the mask, was greeted with a shower of hisses. He had overshot his mark. Disconcerted, for a minute or two he remained absorbed in thought, when, as if doubting that he had mistaken the object of these expressions of dis-

approbation, he again covered his face with the mask, and turned to the audience. This only served to renew the laughter in an increased degree, and this time, when he removed it, the vehemence of the hisses rendered quite clear to his mind the cause which had provoked them. Different feelings at once took possession of him;—his face flushed with anger, and with a quivering lip he remarked, "You are perhaps aware that the only quadruped which makes the noise you are now making, is—the goose." This unfortunately-worded rebuke, Mr. Harrison informed me, literally convulsed the people present with laughter, amid the peals of which the meeting broke up, and the lecturer himself, abashed by his own lapsus, hurried from the scene of his disgrace*.

Thelwall was, however, always violent in his expressions, and frequently, from passion and excitement, carried his arguments to the most absurd extravagances. About this time, a man was convicted of a murder, which he had committed a period

* The character and style of these lectures may perhaps be further elucidated by the following quotation from the *Pursuits of Literature*. "John Thelwall read, during the Lent season, what he termed *Classical* lectures; and most kindly and affectionately pointed out the *defects* of all the ancient governments of Greece, Rome, *Old* France, &c.; and the *causes* of rebellion, insurrection, regeneration of governments, terrorism, massacres, and revolutionary murder; without the *least hint* or application to England and its constitution. Showing *how* the Gracchi were great men, and so, by implication, the Bedfords, the Lauderdales, &c. I must own I fear nothing from such lectures." (13th edit., p. 132.)

of ten years before his detection, and was sentenced to be executed for the crime. Thelwall publicly maintained one evening, at the Physical Society, that this punishment was not only criminal, in a religious point of view, as opposed to the will of the Almighty, who had given him so long an opportunity for repentance, of which the unfortunate man had taken advantage, but that it was also an act of great injustice; for, as he was ready to prove, there was not a particle of the being who had committed the crime, still existing in the man who was to be executed for it. This will not appear, however, so absurd an argument, when we reflect that it was used by a materialist.

The above anecdote sufficiently shows how far at this period of his career he suffered himself to be carried away by the current of his misguided feelings, a fault which he afterwards admitted to be a source of regret to him. In a letter to Mr. Cline, he remarks, when speaking of certain scientific pursuits to which he had comparatively late in life devoted himself, "The eccentric fire of youth hurried me away to other topics with an impetuosity which maturer judgment may regret, though integrity cannot repent of the principle."

It might be expected by any one contemplating the preceding six months of the life of Mr. Cooper, that the scenes he had witnessed in Paris, his success on his return to London, and the birth of his child, would all have tended to soften, if not to remove, the republican bias which he had ac-

quired; but there is sufficient evidence of his still retaining the same principles and political views, though not perhaps to the same extent. My friend Mr. Travers, in writing to me of Mr. Cooper at this period, says:—"He went a step beyond the whiggism of those days, being a member of the Revolution Society, founded in commemoration of ours in 1688. He was an active steward of its anniversary, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the year 1793."

Perhaps to the fact of his renewed intimacy with Mr. Thelwall, more than to any other cause, may be attributed this delay in the hoped-for change, which to a certain extent seemed to have been promised, by his expressions of horror at the savage cruelties committed by the democratic leaders at Paris. In a letter from Mr. George Johnson, who was secretary of the Physical Society at Guy's Hospital for nearly thirty-five years, is the following remark:—"The situation which I held at Guy's necessarily brought me in contact with him, as he was one of the six presidents, at least every Saturday night; which, after the Society was over, we frequently finished together with citizen Thelwall, John Walker, and a few other free-thinkers, by whom we were tolerably republicanized."

In May, 1793, Mr. Cooper concluded the labours of this session, with his character as a surgeon and as a lecturer, both on anatomy and surgery, greatly enhanced in estimation. The popularity of his surgical lectures, the regular as well as increased attendance on the part of the pupils,

fully convinced him of the propriety of the new plan, which he had adopted at the commencement of the course, and gave him not only a proof of the good impression he had made on his audience, but also an earnest of the permanency of his success, if this important department of his professional pursuits were only prosecuted for the future with the same ardour and industry.

But the satisfaction he must have derived from his professional pursuits, was doomed to be allayed by no little anxiety at home; for at this time lurking symptoms of disease began to appear in his child. He immediately thought of a plan to re-establish its health, and for this purpose sought a house surrounded by pure air, which he appears then to have considered, as he did ever afterwards hold it to be, a remedy for almost all the diseases to which children are liable. Having met with such a cottage as he desired at Pentonville, he hired it, and made use of it as a nursery for his child; and here, every morning after breakfast, throughout the summer of this year, Mrs. Cooper and her young charge repaired to pass the day. Nor was the attention to her infant, and the hopes of benefit to it, the only gratification afforded to Mrs. Cooper by this plan, for her friend Mrs. Green, the sister of Mr. Cline, who still survives, had just then given birth to a son, and added to Mrs. Cooper's pleasure by joining with her in this domestic arrangement. This son was the present Mr. Joseph Henry Green, whose character as a surgeon, philosopher, and man of general science, is too

well known to need any panegyric from me. I may be allowed, however, to take this opportunity of publicly expressing feelings of friendship towards that gentleman, which, I trust, I have given him reason to know have been warmly felt by me during a period of thirty years' frequent communication.

Mrs. Cooper's child, notwithstanding the arrangement I have described, never regained fully its former health; but from this period seems always more or less to have involved a care in its parent's mind. The unremitting attention which Mr. Cooper paid to this infant, was not one of the least pleasing traits in his character; for it proved him to be eager to discharge his duties as a parent, with a devotedness and fidelity equal to that which we have already seen him bestow on his professional pursuits.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mr. Cooper is appointed Professor of Anatomy to Surgeons' Hall, A. D. 1793. Thelwall at the Physical Society. His Essay on Mental Action. Discontinuance of his Intimacy with Mr. Cooper. Extracts from a Letter by Mr. Thelwall to Sir Astley Cooper in latter life. Death of Mr. Cooper's Daughter. Mr. Cooper is reappointed Professor of Anatomy to Surgeons' Hall, A. D. 1794 and 1795. Mrs. Cooper's adopted Daughter. Mr. Cooper goes to Hamburgh. Duel between Lord Valentia and Mr. Gawler. Mr. Cooper's Conduct on this Occasion. His Illness at Sea. Extracts from Sir Astley's Journals.

The commencement of October, in the year 1793, again found Mr. Cooper at his post at the hospital, ready to enter upon the duties of the ensuing session. He delivered the introduction to his course on surgery, with more than his accustomed spirit and enthusiasm; for he was animated by the delight of perceiving his growing reputation evidenced by the large increase in the number of his pupils. The fresh entries to his lectures on surgery were twice as numerous as those of the preceding winter. Perhaps, also, he particularly felt at this time the gratifying distinction paid to him, by his being chosen for the appointment, awarded to him in the course of the previous summer, of lecturer on anatomy to Surgeons' Hall.

This Professorship he acquired upon the resignation of Mr. Orange, who, we believe, although he had accepted the office only in the preceding month of July, never officiated, in consequence of having married a lady of large fortune, of the name of Jackson. Mr. Orange afterwards adopted the name of this lady, and immediately retired from professional life. Through this circumstance, assisted perhaps by the influence of Mr. Cline and Mr. Cooper, who were at this time prominent members of the council of the College of Surgeons, Mr. Astley Cooper early in life gained this conspicuous position among the members of his profession. The duty of the Professor of anatomy was publicly to dissect the bodies of criminals executed at the Old Bailey, in the yard of which the Surgeons' Hall was at that time placed. The manner in which he performed the duties of this office gave general satisfaction; and his uncle, Mr. William Cooper, judging from Sir Astley's allusions to this point, seems more on this, than perhaps any other occasion, to have expressed his satisfaction at the professional elevation of his nephew.

The Physical Society of Guy's still continued to occupy a great share of Mr. Cooper's attention, and in the course of this session a circumstance of considerable interest occurred, bearing on his history—the unpopularity and consequent retirement from the Society of Mr. Thelwall, to whose influence over Mr. Cooper we have had to make so many allusions. It is a matter, indeed, of no little wonder how Mr. Thelwall,

with his violent feelings and views, could so long have remained a member of a Society, the object of which was purely to advance the progress of physical science. Towards the middle of the winter, grown bold by the respect which had been paid him during the last session, and by the success of the essay he had then read to the Society, Thelwall brought before the members a paper, entitled "The origin of Mental Action explained on the system of Materialism." The effect of this on the minds of the members, and the result which it produced, will be given explicitly enough, and with most fairness, by simply quoting the brief entries which exist in the Society's books:—

"Dec. 14th, 1793. Mr. A. P. Cooper in the chair. Mr. Thelwall delivered in his paper 'On the origin of Mental Action explained on the system of Materialism.' Mr. Thelwall read his paper. GEO. JOHNSON, *Secretary*.

"Jan. 4th, 1794. Dr. Maclaurin in the chair. Mr. Thelwall's paper in part discussed.

"Jan. 11th, 1794. Dr. Maclaurin in the chair. Mr. Thelwall's paper was continued.

"Jan. 18th, 1794. Dr. Maclaurin in the chair. Mr. Thelwall's paper was continued.

"Jan. 25th, 1794. Dr. Ralph made the following motion: 'That as a paper, now before the Society, which has already been under discussion for three successive evenings, appears to have no application to the science of medicine or surgery, therefore in no degree interesting to a Society which has only for its object the improvement of these arts: Moved, That the discussion of the aforesaid paper be discontinued, and not resumed, and that the paper next in succession be substituted in its place.'

"This motion was seconded by Dr. Saunders, and, after a

very long and tumultuous debate, determined by ballot, when there appeared—Ayes, 39; Noes, 19.

"In consequence of this decision, Messrs. Clarke and Wilson, honorary members, and Messrs. Thelwall and Burtenshaw, ordinary members, withdrew their names from the Society.

"The Society afterwards, by vote, adjourned.

"Confirmed. JOHN HAIGHTON, *Pres.*
GEORGE JOHNSON, *Sec.*"

The bond of connexion between Mr. Thelwall and Mr. Cooper seems to have been loosened from this time, if not altogether severed. Many years afterwards, however, at a time, when their relative positions were widely different, circumstances led to communication between them, being in some measure renewed. Many facts contribute to prove that Thelwall exercised a serious influence over the mind of Astley Cooper during the early period of his professional life; an influence, too, of such a nature, that its removal, however honest may have been the conviction in Thelwall's mind of the justness of his sentiments and doctrines, cannot be considered but as one of the fortunate events of Sir Astley's career. There can be no doubt that Thelwall was endowed by nature with an energetic mind, which, perhaps, had it been properly directed to any one useful purpose, might have been rendered a benefit, as well as an honour to society. On the contrary, from never allowing his impulses to be subjected to any wholesome control, he was ever flighty and unstable, actuated by chimerical views, and readily suffered himself to be led away by the dictates of false feeling and sophistry.

The following is one of Thelwall's letters to Sir Astley Cooper, written many years after the occurrences we have related. It offers a good example of the style and talent of the writer, and at the same time serves to illustrate an interesting feature in the character of Sir Astley Cooper, who, although he now held opinions altogether at variance with those which he had formerly advocated in common with Thelwall, yet would allow neither his altered political feelings, nor the exalted position to which by his own exertions he had raised himself, to be an excuse for withholding that assistance which his former acquaintanceship justly authorized Thelwall to seek.

"*Oving, near Aylesbury, Bucks,*

"My dear Sir, *27th Jan.*, 1832.

"Your letter of the 23rd gave me the most sincere satisfaction. Though the busy occupations of both our lives, and the vicissitudes of mine, have long interrupted our intercourse, it is gratifying to find that they have not superseded or supplanted your sentiments of esteem and friendship towards me, and that I still live in your remembrance in the same hues of partiality in which heretofore I used occasionally to appear in personal intercourse before you. It is one of the best consolations of the evening of life to find that among those of the cheerers of the morning or the noontide hour, whom the scythe of fate has yet spared, there are some who would still delay the fading twilight, or brighten it by their friendly remembrances.

"The cordial manner in which you have so promptly answered my former note (more gratifying even than the acceptable accompaniment), encourages me to speak with more explicitness of the views and objects of my present undertaking. As far as literature and the science are concerned, these are sufficiently explained in the printed prospectus; but in what is more immediately personal, the plan has originated in the advice of my friends Dr. —— and Mr. ——, as a means (and the *only one* that could have been acceptable to me) of rendering my remaining years independent of those vicissitudes to which my life has hitherto been exposed, and with which (though the elasticity of my spirit is yet unbroken) I am not now as competent to struggle as heretofore.

"* * * * * But it is not the influence of rank alone that I aspire to nor to that of party politics. I shall be still more proud of the countenance of men of science, and am therefore particularly gratified that I have your name to grace my list. And from the tenor of your very friendly letter, I feel myself satisfied that you will not the less willingly exert your influence in the promotion of my undertaking from the avowal I have made of the ultimate personal object of the plan proposed.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Your's very sincerely,

"*Sir Astley Cooper, Bart.*" "JOHN THELWALL.

During the remainder of this winter, until May,

1794, I have found no record of any circumstance worthy of remark. All the duties of the session appear to have been fully performed by Mr. Cooper, and his increasing prosperity offers the best proof of the efficacy of the means he employed, not only to preserve, but also to increase his reputation. The session closed with success equal to, if not beyond, his most sanguine expectations.

Ever since the commencement of the year Mr. Cooper had been more or less in anxiety from the ill state of health of his daughter, disturbed by the alternations of hope for its recovery and fear of its loss. He felt it to be too heavy a burden upon his mind to take upon himself the whole responsibility of attending the child, and he therefore consulted his friend Dr. Lister, one of the physicians of St. Thomas' Hospital. The attention of this gentleman to the little patient was ever gratefully remembered by its parents, and so estimated was his treatment by Sir Astley, that he ever after, during the life of Dr. Lister, sought his professional aid, whenever he wanted the additional advice of a physician. Dr. Lister seemed to agree completely with Mr. Cooper in his general view respecting the beneficial effects of air, as well as in this particular case. In accordance with these sentiments, the child was constantly submitted to its influence; for Mrs. Keeling informs me, that during the previous summer, almost every meal, when the weather permitted, was taken in the open air in the garden. But the tenderest care was of no avail, for the infant gradually wasted,

until at last an acute attack of water in the head coming on, it died, in the month of March, 1794, at the early age of twenty months. The grief and disappointment of the mother at her bereavement, did not in appearance exceed, what we might naturally expect to be excited, in one of her tender feelings, but, it is to be lamented, was of so deep and lasting a nature, that even time was tardy in alleviating the bitterness of her distress.

It is matter of more surprise that the father should not have earlier expended his grief at the loss of a child of so young an age, employed as he was in such a diversity of occupation, and having for so long a period anticipated the calamity. His feelings, however, had been most acutely wounded, and although he would not allow his distress to deter him from fulfilling those duties which he felt himself bound to perform, yet, for a length of time, it was evident that regret for the loss he had endured, was still uppermost in his mind: nor was it until some months had elapsed, that the reciprocal attention of the parents, and their mutual attempt to alleviate each other's distress, as well as a change of scene, obtained during a short visit to Yarmouth in September, succeeded in reducing their minds to a state of serenity and submission. The infant was buried in Mr. Cock's family vault, at Tottenham Church, but was subsequently removed to Hemel Hempstead Church, where Sir Astley Cooper in after life built a family vault.

We have already mentioned the fact of Mr.

Cooper having been selected as Professor of anatomy to the Hall of Surgeons, in the year 1793. The election for this office took place annually, and Mr Cooper, on the 3rd day of July, 1794, was again chosen to hold the same office for the ensuing twelvemonth. At the same time he received the gold medal which then seems to have been the only remuneration for the services of the Professor.

This appointment he maintained until the year 1796, when he resigned it, and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Blizard, of the London Hospital, a surgeon who at that time had already promised to rise to the distinction which he ultimately acquired.

I feel a difficulty as to a desire to transcribe Mr. Cooper's own words descriptive of the manner in which he considered he had performed his duties during the three years he held this professorship. I hesitate because I fear I may bring upon him the imputation of vanity; but surely a man who writes honestly is justified in stating his own opinions regarding himself. Neither am I one to believe that a man, when alone, and committing to paper a retrospective view of his own actions, and an estimate of his powers, is likely to misrepresent what he believes really to be their legitimate value; but on the contrary, I believe he is more likely to withhold that just measure of praise which an observer would most readily award to him. With this conviction, I submit the following quotation:—

"I was appointed Professor of anatomy to the

Company of Surgeons, and gave lectures on executed persons, which were received with great *éclat*, and I became very popular as a lecturer. The theatre was constantly crowded, and the applause excessive. My uncle was quite delighted, and Mr. Cline complimentary, which he seldom was."

An interesting event in the economy of my uncle's house took place about this time, arising out of circumstances, which tended much to disturb the degree of happiness that would have been assuredly his share, had his wife been in a state of mind to participate with him in the gratification inseparable from his rapidly rising reputation. The source of Mr. Cooper's domestic anxiety was the continued distress of Mrs. Cooper, who appears not to have been able by any effort, nor even by the warmth of feeling with which she watched the growing prosperity of her husband, to avert the melancholy impressions induced by the recollection of her lost child. Anxiously as Mr. Cooper tried with his cheerful tone and manner to assuage her sorrow, it was evidently too painful an effort for her to assume a responsive gaiety. She seemed ever to be missing something, and all her natural serenity of mind in consequence was lost to her.

Mrs. Cooper at this time made frequent visits to a small cottage which she had taken at Hornsey, for the purpose ostensibly of attempting to fill up the void in her thoughts occasioned by the death of her infant, by occupying herself in the simple amusements

which were thus offered to her; but perhaps, in truth, in accordance with the peculiar bent of her mind, to indulge undisturbed in her grief and disappointment. While thus situated, she met with a source of comfort she had little anticipated, for circumstances made her acquainted with a young woman in the neighbourhood, of humble but respectable condition, who was nursing a little girl of the precise age of that which had so recently been removed from her own maternal care. The ill health of this person offered Mrs. Cooper an opportunity, under colour of relieving the young mother of her charge, of gratifying her own feelings in the society of this child, whom she would nurse for hours together with little less than maternal solicitude.

The susceptibility of Mrs. Cooper's disposition, led her on gradually to imbibe so strong an attachment for the child, as to render its absence day by day more painful, while the occupation it afforded her tended in a great measure to restore her to her natural cheerfulness.

Mr. Cooper, who used frequently to pass the evening at this cottage, when his engagements permitted, quickly perceived the beneficial effect the presence of this child had upon his wife's happiness, and did all he could to encourage its visits, even before Mrs. Cooper was aware of the extent of influence which the simple playful manners of the infant had exerted upon her. The illness of the mother, and with it, the ostensible reason for the child's presence with Mrs. Cooper, continuing, they

at length were scarcely ever separate: until the feelings, which were at first simply those of strong interest arising out of the circumstances we have described, became ripened into a strength of affection little inferior to that which she had felt for her own offspring.

Thus a new source of anxiety was threatened to Mrs. Cooper, unless some project could be devised, by which the continuance of this source of enjoyment could, for some time at least, be secured to her. It was proposed by Mrs. Cooper, therefore, that during the illness of the mother, the child should be allowed to remain entirely in her care, nor was there any difficulty anticipated in inducing the father, a man of dissolute habits, to accede to the proposal. Mr. Cooper himself was too anxious to do all in his power to gratify the wishes of his wife, to refuse her request; and indeed had already, unknown to her, paved the way for this completion of her wishes. The mother in a short time died, and the father, soon after this event, readily consented to resign his child to an adoption which, in every respect, promised advantages to the adopted, such as his own position in life could never have afforded.

From this period, the infant became domesticated in the house of Mr. Cooper, and was treated in every respect as if it had been his own daughter. She grew up healthy and interesting, and by her affection and attention to Mrs. Cooper, and her general conduct, evinced the strongest desire to fulfil every duty of a child towards its parents, and the

tenderest mother could but have watched with gratification the virtues which embellished her character.

The intimacy which I have already mentioned to have existed between Mrs. Keeling and Mrs. Cooper, naturally led to frequent visiting between the two families, and thus Miss Keeling, now my wife, became the constant associate of this adopted daughter. The intimacy of the young people was in a great degree confirmed by the frequent visits which Miss Keeling, from her childhood, was in the habit of making at my uncle's house, and which, from the affectionate esteem with which she was regarded both by my uncle and aunt, were frequently protracted to periods of long duration. Mrs. Cooper seldom went on any of her excursions to the various watering-places, to which she occasionally resorted in the summer, with Sarah, her adopted daughter, without making Miss Keeling a companion to her little charge. I am thus enabled to recount many circumstances in the life of my uncle, which would otherwise have long since passed into oblivion, and to maintain uninterrupted the thread of his history.

As the adopted daughter grew up towards womanhood, she displayed considerable talent and facility in acquiring the usual accomplishments essential to a young lady's education. Her voice was very pleasing, and her great proficiency in music enabled her frequently to be a source of gratification to the domestic circle of my uncle, as well as of admiration to the occasional visitors at his house.

In the year 1814 this lady was married, in consonance with the wishes of Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, to my friend Mr. Parmenter; but their happiness was of short duration, for within a twelvemonth after the event, Mrs. Parmenter died in giving birth to a still-born child.

This second trial overwhelmed Mrs. Cooper with the severest grief, and long was it before she could bring her mind to dwell upon anything unconnected with the disappointment she had now again received. She almost immediately retired to Gadesbridge, an estate which my uncle had then not long purchased, and there she remained, with scarcely any interruption, to the period of her death.

My uncle felt the necessity of a companion for Lady Cooper during this period, as he himself was necessarily absent the greater part of the time in London, and he accordingly induced Mr. Parmenter, whom Lady Cooper regarded as her son-in-law, to take up his residence with her at Gadesbridge. At the same time, that Mr. Parmenter might not consider himself wholly dependent on my uncle's bounty, or be at a loss how to employ his time, he proposed to him to undertake the management of his farm, an office for which he was well adapted. Here Mr. Parmenter lived until the death of Lady Cooper: he then came to London, and occupied himself in assisting my uncle in his anatomical and physiological pursuits, and thus became a great source of comfort to his patron. Of Mr. Parmenter I shall have to speak again in the course of this

biography, when describing that period of Sir Astley's life in which the farming of his estate formed an important part of his occupation, as well as towards the conclusion of his career, at which time Mr. Parmenter saw more of him than any of his friends and connexions.

The next circumstance worthy of note in the history of Sir Astley Cooper was in the year 1796, when he was called upon to act in an affair such as he had never yet been engaged in; indeed the natural bent of his mind was little likely to lead him to seek notoriety in connexion with such a transaction. A quarrel occurred between Lord Valentia and Colonel Gawler, in reference to Lady Valentia. I believe that the dispute had been nearly settled to the satisfaction of his Lordship; but his Irish friends considered that he could not well get out of the affair without a hostile meeting. There was, however, an objection to calling out Colonel Gawler, as an action had already been commenced against him by his Lordship. The Colonel's brother, Mr. Gawler, was considered by these gentlemen as a very fit person to become his substitute. A quarrel was accordingly soon got up with him; and a meeting being determined upon, it was agreed that it should take place at Hamburgh.

Application was made by Mr. Gawler to my uncle to act as his surgeon on the occasion, and he readily acceded to the proposal, being the more inclined to do so as he had connxtions, relations of his wife, at Hamburgh. Mr. Gawler and his party

proceeded to Hamburgh by the packet, and remained two or three days waiting the arrival of Lord Valentia and his friends who came by the next packet.

During this interval, Mr. Gawler accidentally met his friend Colonel R—— of the Guards, who had often been engaged in transactions of this nature. They had some conversation upon duelling and the use of pistols, when the Colonel significantly asked Mr. Gawler whether he intended to kill Lord Valentia. To this Mr. Gawler replied, "Certainly, it is not my intention, but I should wish to hit him, so as make him cry out, Hold—enough;" upon which the Colonel said, "Then desire your second only to put in half the usual charge of powder." This order was accordingly given.

The meeting took place at a short distance from the city. The opponents were placed at the distance of twelve paces, and they fired together. Lord Valentia immediately exclaimed, but without falling, "I am hit." Mr. Gawler's second asked where, upon which Lord Valentia threw back his coat, and showed his neck and shirt covered with blood.

Mr. Cooper of course rendered his assistance in co-operation with Lord Valentia's medical attendant, and by his tact and presence of mind, at once so completely gained his Lordship's confidence, that he was requested by him to remain and continue his services professionally. On examination, Mr. Cooper found that the ball had struck just below the collar bone, and having taken a glancing direction, had cut its way out after running round in the course of

the second rib. Had the pistol been charged as usual, the ball in all probability would have passed directly onward, and the result must have been almost inevitably fatal. Mr. Gawler, when he saw my uncle's finger passed up to the knuckle in the wound in searching for the ball, supposed, from the apparent depth, that Lord Valentia's danger must be imminent; and he and his second, therefore, thought it necessary immediately to make their escape into the Danish territory. This, after a tedious walk of several hours, not knowing their direct road, they at length reached. The wound did not prove to be dangerous; and Mr. Cooper accordingly in a short time had the opportunity of rejoining his friends, and he returned with them to England. My uncle's conduct on this occasion has been described to me, as being remarkably conspicuous for its kindness and feeling, united with the most perfect self-possession and decision in the field.

During the voyage homeward, their small vessel encountered a severe gale, and Mr. Cooper became extremely ill. A circumstance here occurred which remarkably confirms the well-known truth, that the boldest occasionally have their moments of fear. He, who had been from his boyhood distinguished for his courage and daring, and had only within a few days before presented an example of firmness of character; now, on meeting with the common danger of a stormy passage, became singularly alarmed and almost panic-stricken. His terror, acting on a

frame weakened by the depressing influence of sea-sickness, actually produced delirium, and the expressions of extreme alarm and apprehension which then escaped from him, long dwelt in the memories of those who accompanied him. Such a dread had my uncle ever after of a sea voyage, that I have frequently heard him say, "not the riches of the Indies should ever again induce me to make a longer voyage than from Dover to Calais;" and in all his subsequent visits to the Continent, he invariably proceeded by that route.

The notes in his journal of a tour to Switzerland, up the Rhine, as late as 1834, still evince his timidity and abhorrence of the sea. On this occasion he stopped at Dover five days waiting for what he considered to be favourable weather, and during that time he examined with much care the different qualities of the boats, and at length made choice of a Government vessel as the best fitted to encounter the passage.

His feelings on this subject led him minutely to note the conduct of others on these, to him, fearful occasions. In this Journal he remarks:

"*Monday*, 16*th*.—I did not like the appearance of the Royal George steam-boat, for it was *less* and not so well formed as the others. She went out without us and soon returned, having broken her main axle. Mrs. Marcet was on board, but so soon as she returned, she went on board the Britannia steam-boat, and crossed with her usual *magnanimity and courage*, although she suffered from sea-sickness."

Many other such instances of his attention to this subject exist in his journals. In the note-book from which the above extract was made, he has written the following dialogue. It occurs upon his return from Calais to Dover.

"We had a miserable passage over, the wind blew excessively hard, and almost all were sick. The cabin looked as if strewed with dead bodies, &c.

"Lady Cooper was ill. The behaviour of the steward was attentive and kind, in the greatest degree. He told fifty white lies to inspire Lady Cooper and the other passengers with confidence.—

"*Lady C.* I am afraid we shall have a rough passage.

"*Randal.* A beautiful passage, my lady.

"*Lady C.* How soon shall we be over?

"*R.* In three hours, my lady.

"*Lady C.* Are we almost arrived?

"*R.* Why, we have been out only half an hour, my lady.

"*Lady C.* It is very rough.

"*R.* She pitches a little now we are in mid-channel, my lady.

"*Lady C.* But it is really very rough.

"*R.* It is a beautiful passage, my lady.

"*R.* Sir Astley sends you word, my lady, that we are now half way over.

"*Lady C.* I knew that half an hour ago.

"*Lady C.* We have been out two hours, how soon shall we be at Dover?

"*R.* Not quite yet, my lady.

"*Lady C.* Is there no danger?

"*R.* Not the least, my lady.

"At length, after four hours and a half, we arrived safely in port."

The above dialogue offers a good example, no less of his ability in giving a graphic description by a few words, than of the tone of feeling to which we have alluded.

CHAPTER XV.

MR. COOPER REMOVES FROM JEFFRIES SQUARE TO ST. MARY AXE, A.D. 1797. MR. JOHN SAUNDERS. LETTER FROM MR. COOPER TO THIS GENTLEMAN. EXTRACTS FROM SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S MEMORANDA. MR. COOPER MEETS WITH A SERIOUS ACCIDENT. QUOTATIONS FROM MRS. COOPER'S LETTERS IN REFERENCE TO THIS OCCURRENCE. MEDICAL RECORDS AND RESEARCHES. MR. COOPER'S DÉBUT AS AN AUTHOR. CHARACTER OF MR. COOPER'S ESSAYS. THE EDINBURGH CLUB. INTERNAL ECONOMY OF THIS ASSOCIATION. HISTORY OF THE CLUB.

TOWARDS the latter end of the year 1797, Mr. Cooper left Jeffries Square, and took up his residence at No. 12, St. Mary Axe. Mr. Cline had occupied this house for a long time, but, having determined to move westward, he left it in the autumn of this year, and took a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Before leaving St. Mary Axe, Mr. Cline strongly advised his young colleague to become the new occupant of his late residence.

I have fortunately, through the kindness of my friend Dr. Farre, the means of publishing, in Mr. Cooper's own words, the considerations which weighed with him in his determination to remove to this situation. The account occurs in the course of a long letter from Mr. Cooper to Mr. Saunders, without written date, but bearing the Barnstaple post mark, September 16, 1797.

Mr. Cooper writes:—

"Mr. Cline is going to the other end of the town, and has left me his house in the city, which I feel myself strongly disposed to take. It is well calculated for private practice, and has also a large warehouse attached to it, which will make a most admirable dissecting room. I already, prompted by fancy, figure to myself the effect of our united labours in this most convenient place."

Mr. John Cunningham Saunders, well known as the founder of the Infirmary in Moorfields for curing Diseases of the Eye, at the time when Mr. Cooper addressed to him the letter containing this passage, was a student at the Hospital, whose diligence and attention had particularly attracted his notice. Having served an apprenticeship of five years in the country, he came to London, entered upon his studies at Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals, and at once devoted himself, with the greatest assiduity, to the science of anatomy. That his labours were not unattended with distinguished notice and reward will be best shewn by other extracts from the same letter. At the time this was written (1797) Mr. Saunders had been a hospital student only the short period of two years.

"Dear Sir,

"I ought long since to have informed you of my plan for the winter, so far as it concerns you, and as I have been able to decide.

"It is my wish that you should lodge and board

in my house. I have already informed you that I live in a plain and economical style, and that you are only to expect a joint of meat and a pudding; if this will satisfy you, a bed will be ready whenever you return to London.

"I can say nothing about the salary you are to receive, for I have not been able to form any idea of what will be proper, or how much you would expect; all I can say is, that the sum shall be annually increased, which, at the same time as it may act as a stimulus to you, and make it an object to proceed in your career, will be more convenient to myself, because, if no stroke of adverse fortune prevents it, my income must be yearly improving.

"It is my wish that you should dissect for lecture-work in Comparative Anatomy, and assist me in making preparations. With respect to the first of these, the labour is certain, and all other occupations and objects must yield to it; with regard to the latter, the quantum of employ shall be guided by your feelings. It is a duty I have myself performed, without injury to my health, with much amusement, and great advantage.

"I am in hopes that you will have no objection to giving me three months' information if any other pursuit should lead you to quit the situation, as otherwise, I may be unable to procure a substitute, and suffer great inconvenience from the want of one.

* * * * * *

"I never write a very legible hand, and am now writing, or rather blurring, with a pen split to the

feathers: I fear it may require more than the time which remains to you in the country to decipher this letter.

"You may rest assured that I am, dear sir,

"Your very sincere friend,

"ASTLEY COOPER."

Mr. Saunders, immediately after his return to town, undertook the duties mentioned in this letter, and was shortly afterwards appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy at St. Thomas's Hospital*. He continued thus occupied, without any interruption, until his resignation in the year 1801.

Mr. Cooper was induced to appoint Mr. Saunders his Demonstrator, not only on account of the great attention which he had paid to the subject of anatomy, but also on account of a peculiar ability which he possessed of illustrating whatever he wished to express, by means of sketches of a most effective character.

Mr. Battley informs me, that on the days on which Mr. Cline lectured, Mr. Cooper was in the habit of going into the dissecting-room, where he could undisturbed, as all the pupils were at Mr. Cline's lecture, look over the subjects which were in progress of dissection; and frequently in this manner did he discover some important facts which might otherwise have been overlooked. Mr. Saunders was generally his chosen companion upon these

* See a Treatise on Diseases of the Eye by John Saunders, &c. Edited by J. R. Farre, M.D., page 7.

occasions, and Mr. Battley, and Mr. Dease, (a gentleman who became afterwards an eminent surgeon in Dublin,) well knowing the value of these undisturbed conferences, usually remained in the dissecting-room, and partook of the advantages they offered. Their discussion mostly commenced upon some part exposed by dissection, and as it continued, Saunders would generally contrive to get to the fire-place, and then with the poker, a piece of burnt stick, or some such rude substitute for a better implement, he would make a rough sketch of the relative position of the organs in explanation of his views as to their function, with such mathematical accuracy as quite to astonish Mr. Cooper; who, although he might not yield his point of dispute, still envied this accomplishment of his adversary. Thus it was, that Mr. Cooper was led to determine, if possible, to secure Mr. Saunders as Demonstrator to the school, a situation which he himself was at that time anxious to resign. Mr. Saunders had acquired his facility and precision of delineation, not merely from being by nature a young man of accurate observation, but also from long-continued employment of diagrams in his mathematical studies,—in which branch of science he had made a considerable proficiency.

The expectations of Mr. Cooper were not disappointed; for his selection of Mr. Saunders for this office proved no less agreeable to himself personally, than advantageous to the pupils. On several occasions, when Mr. Cooper went into Norfolk, Mr.

Saunders took the charge of his patients during his absence. This gentleman afterwards occupied a very prominent position in his profession, and acquired considerable reputation in practice; and his name will again occur in the course of these memoirs.

In referring, in his memoranda, to the change in his residence which I have already described, Sir Astley mentions a curious anecdote. "When I went into St. Mary Axe," he says, "I was sent for by a Mr. Woodyer, who succeeded me in Jeffries Square, on account of a viper making its appearance before the fire at breakfast time, for I had kept many snakes, vipers, and frogs, to watch them through the winter; and one of them, which had escaped, roused by the warmth, had crawled out and excited great terror. I quieted his fears by thus accounting for its appearance; and he no longer retained his suspicions of the probability of the frequent occurrence of such visits."

Upon establishing himself in his new house, Mr. Cooper indulged the hope of deriving some benefit from such patients as were in the habit of coming to Mr. Cline's, and who would now consult the new occupier rather than be obliged to take the lengthened walk to his new residence. One of the first patients, however, who sought his advice under these circumstances, gave him a hint that he was not to fancy, that with Mr. Cline's house, he was at once to gain Mr. Cline's fees.

"Soon after I got into my new residence," Sir Astley relates, "a patient gave me a half-guinea,

saying, 'I gave Mr. Cline a guinea, but, as you were his apprentice, I suppose half-a-guinea will do for you.' Mr. Cline made it a rule to take whatever was offered him; so I did not refuse the proffered fee."

In the year 1798, Mr. Cooper met with a severe injury, which indeed threatened to be attended with the most serious consequences. He, himself, for some time, possessed a firm conviction that it would prove fatal."

The accident occurred in consequence of a fall from his horse. He was, at this time, in the habit of taking horse exercise early in the morning, which he always esteemed as the most valuable preventive of disease to persons, whose occupations necessarily deprived them of the benefits of other bodily exertion. Upon such an occasion, when riding one of his carriage horses, the animal proving not very sure-footed, fell, and threw Mr. Cooper on his head. He was taken home, and Mr. Cline was immediately in attendance upon him, and to his care and attention Mr. Cooper, in all probability, owed his recovery. Mr. Battley, whose abilities as a chemist have long been publicly known, and to whom I have previously alluded, acted under Mr. Cline's directions in preparing and carrying into effect his prescriptions throughout this illness, and he informs me, that the affection was a severe concussion of the brain, attended with a high degree of constitutional irritation. Mr. Cooper was confined to his room for five or six weeks.

The letters from Yarmouth to Mrs. Astley Cooper, during the progress of this illness, exhibit the greatest anxiety on the part of Mr. Cooper's friends and relations. I select some extracts from two of his mother's letters,—one, written to himself, just prior to his recovery, the other, to her daughter-in-law. They abound with the most expressive feeling and maternal solicitude, and are highly characteristic of the tenderness of disposition which her letters so constantly exemplify.

"My dearest, my inestimable Daughter,

"How does your each successive letter relieve my heart and increase my affection! O may each day bring with it a portion of renovated health and strength to your loved patient, to whom your tender, ever-anxious solicitude must have inexpressibly endeared you, as his sufferings must have augmented your affection. May you enjoy many, many happy years together, blessed, and making blest!

"I have at last imparted our dear Astley's illness to your excellent father, who received the intelligence of his danger, and of his convalescence, with tears of blended sorrow and joy. I did not mention the *accident*, but the *fever*. We both join in fervent prayers for our dear son's perfect recovery, and in assurances, that if the journey be not too long, and the season not too far advanced, we shall be happy in receiving both you and him, and in contributing, by every attention in our power, to his re-established health.

"Family parties, and a few intimates, comprise our circle of visitors. I think and hope your dear father's health is rather increased than diminished, and his spirits are charmingly serene. We rejoice in your *astonishingly supported* health, and supplicate for its continuance.

* * * * *

"Heaven bless ye both, restore you to health, my dearest Astley, and preserve to you, my best beloved daughter, this and every other blessing, pray,

"Your ever most tenderly affectionate parents,

"S. Cooper. M. S. Cooper.

"*Oct.* 21*st*, 1798.

"Your dear father most affectionately thanked me for not disclosing our Astley's alarming state sooner."

The letter, from which the following is selected, is directed to Mr. Cooper, and dated Oct. 29th:—

"I cannot express the exquisite pleasure your good father and I felt, my ever dearest Astley, at the sight of your well known characters, and on perusing the contents of your letter. How do our hearts overflow with thankfulness for your preservation! May you ever, my dear son, retain a grateful sense of the mercies you have received, and prove your gratitude by an ever-actuating piety!

"Your father now knows of your accident; the hair-dresser, who did not know it was intended to be a secret, mentioned it to him, but in the happy

state of convalescence in which you now are, it only tended to increase his thankfulness. You have indeed a treasure in your inestimable Anna: never, I believe, did any one ever possess such a fund of exquisite tenderness. Self was banished from her thoughts, she lived only in you. Heaven be praised that you are restored to her prayers. May you live many, many happy years together! Mr. Cline's parental attentions to you excite our warmest gratitude. We send, &c. * * * Your brothers and sisters were all with us when we received your letter, and it was a subject of universal joy. Must we not hope to see you till next year?

"Our kindest regards ever attend you, my dearest Astley, with the most fervent wishes and prayers for your perfectly restored health and strength. Assure my beloved daughter she is dearer to me than ever, and believe me to be hers and yours,

"Ever most tenderly affectionate mother,

"M. S. COOPER.

"*Oct.* 29*th*, 1798."

"You apologize for bad writing. We all agreed your letter was *unusually* well written."

My friend Dr. Farre tells me that Sir Astley, in conversation with him one day, alluded to this illness for the purpose of exemplifying the remarkable *sang froid* of Mr. Cline. Mr. Cooper was one morning after the accident, when in the full belief that he was about to die, lamenting to Mr. Cline the event, not so much on his own account as

because it arrested a train of professional inquiry in which he was then engaged, and which he thought would prove of the highest public benefit. "Make yourself quite easy, my friend," replied Mr. Cline, "the result of your disorder, whether fatal or otherwise, will not be thought of the least consequence by mankind." The eager aspiring ambition of the young patient, and the calm philosophic coolness of his preceptor, form a curious contrast,—but at the same time the anecdote exhibits feelings highly characteristic of each of the two parties.

The letter of Dr. Farre to me concluded with the following remark:—

"Perhaps some interesting discussions between Mr. Abernethy and your uncle, which are reported to have excited great interest about the time of your uncle's accident, and to have been continued with great animation for three successive nights, I think at the Physical Society of Guy's Hospital, may throw further light on the subject."

The books of this Society about this period have been accordingly examined, but no report of such a discussion was met with, nor indeed did it appear, that Mr. Abernethy was ever an attendant at its meetings.

Upon subsequent inquiry however, I have found Dr. Farre to be correct in his suggestions as to these discussions having taken place at the Physical Society of Guy's Hospital. A gentleman who was present on each of the three nights on which the

subject was debated, and who took part in the discussion, informs me, that Mr. Cooper, maintaining opinions very different from those held by Mr. Abernethy as to the treatment of injuries of the head, invited him, by a sort of challenge, to come to Guy's and publicly discuss the question. An evening was accordingly fixed, and it being generally known that such an encounter was about to take place, the theatre was crowded to the ceiling with the pupils of the rival professors. The discussion was carried on with the greatest spirit by the adherents of the two parties, and having been adjourned on two successive Saturday evenings, terminated on the third Saturday, as preconcerted public contests of this nature generally do, by each party being more strongly convinced than ever of the truth of his own previous views.

Mr. Cooper does not appear to have visited Yarmouth this autumn, but, as soon as his health permitted, seems to have at once resumed his duties at the hospital, and to have devoted himself to private practice, and the scientific occupations in which he was engaged at home, which were chiefly anatomical investigations.

In addition to the various means of increasing his professional knowledge to which we have already adverted, Mr. Cooper had adopted another plan, which not only in the furtherance of medical, but almost of all other sciences, has been found of essential benefit,—private discussion.

Mr. Cooper at an early period had seen the

advantages which were likely to accrue from this source; and indeed, soon after he had commenced the lectures at St. Thomas's Hospital, had been mainly instrumental in promoting the formation of a private Society of persons connected with the institution, for the purpose of detailing to each other, accounts of any remarkable cases that might come before their notice. Brief reports of these cases, fitted either for reference or statistical inquiry, were entered in a book kept for the purpose by a secretary.

The papers of this Society having at last accumulated to a considerable extent, and many of them being of an interesting nature, it was determined to submit a portion of them to the public. For this purpose Mr. Astley Cooper, Dr. Haighton, and Dr. Babington, were selected as joint editors in the undertaking, and this event was soon followed by the publication of a very interesting volume under the title of "Medical Records and Researches," comprehending papers on thirteen different medical and surgical subjects, and accompanied by several elaborate engravings. This work appeared in the year 1798. Of the articles contained in this volume, two were original Essays by Mr. Cooper, and three other papers were the productions of professional men practising in the country, and communicated by him to the Society. The remainder consisted of papers by Dr. Haighton and Dr. Babington, or communications through them from their professional friends. The value of the papers which were written

by Mr. Cooper will be more appropriately discussed elsewhere, but even to the unprofessional reader it cannot fail to be an object of interest, to learn the circumstances which led to his début as an author, and the tenor of mind which he exhibits in the pursuit of his subject.

It is the characteristic of an acute intelligent observer to perceive the importance of phenomena, which, to the ordinary man, appear of a trifling nature, or at most call forth but a passing remark or exclamation of surprise; but it implies a mind possessed of still higher qualities, when, by diligently pursuing and carefully investigating such circumstances, the observer elicits, or strives to do so, conclusions which may be converted to a general and beneficial application.

Such a constitution of mind, such diligence and perseverance in pursuit, such care and research, do these papers show Mr. Cooper to have possessed, as is proved by the circumstance which originated his first Essay.

A subject is brought for dissection to St. Thomas's Hospital, and is examined by Mr. Cooper; he discovers an unusual and diseased condition of certain parts of the body, the integrity of which are essential to health; a careful and minute inspection of them is instituted by him, and the facts observed are accurately noted down. In order to learn the origin and developement of the disease, an inquiry as to the neighbourhood from which the subject was procured is made, and after much difficulty discovered.

At length he obtains with as much accuracy as possible the history of the symptoms which attended the patient during life, and those which were exhibited during the illness immediately preceding her death. These being compared with the appearances first noticed, he thus establishes a guide for the surgeon, in future to detect and recognise the existence of a similar disease, should it be presented to his notice, and the indications of its treatment are by these means deduced and determined.

Such was Mr. Cooper's course of scientific pursuit in investigating this case, which, had it come before the notice of the majority of persons young as he was in medical science, would probably have been regarded only as a simple fact, and not have led to any scrupulous investigation of the manner in which important organs were capable of performing their functions under such peculiarities of malformation.

The second Essay exhibits this disposition for thorough investigation, more fully than that to which we have already alluded. His attention was first called to the subject on which it treats as early as the year 1789, while making some anatomical examinations. From this time he continued looking for and watching cases bearing on the same subject, and ultimately succeeded in demonstrating a beautiful provision of nature in case of a diseased condition in a certain part of her economy. To determine more fully the circumstances in connection with this fact, he pursued his investigation, and insti-

tuted a series of experiments on the lower animals, by which he was led to physiological conclusions of considerable importance.

Even his method of performing these experiments exhibits the attention which he bestowed on every point, and shows how little he cared to spare either time or trouble, if only by such means he expected to attain the sought-for object. In the case in point, before attempting experiments on the living animal which others before him had tried, but in vain, he first by dissection and careful examination of the dead, studied accurately the relative situation of the parts he was about to experiment upon, and was thus enabled eventually to succeed in his endeavours. It was always by means of such a careful mode of proceeding, and such patient and persevering application, that Astley Cooper achieved the important discoveries, by which he has built for himself so high a reputation.

These Essays being entirely scientific, have no pretensions to literary style; it is sufficient to say that the descriptions are accurate, the language simple but expressive, and the arrangement orderly and clear. Whether the mode in which the work was published was found to be too expensive, or that it did not at the time meet with due encouragement from the profession, is uncertain; but the publication o these papers commenced and ended with this volume.

Another Society, and one of a somewhat more extensive character than the former, was instituted

in the early part of the year 1800, and perhaps had a share in taking away the interest of Mr. Cooper from the association just mentioned. This was the Edinburgh Club, so termed because its members consisted only of gentlemen who had, at some period of their professional education, studied at Edinburgh. They were at first very limited in number, there being only ten or twelve friends in the association. Their object in thus uniting, was not only to maintain the friendly feelings which their profession and common place of education induced among them, but also to add to their general stock of knowledge by reading papers, comparing notes, by the formation and examination of anatomical preparations, and friendly discussion. They also sought, by mutual co-operation and assistance, to promote any professional undertakings in which a fellow-member might be at the time engaged.

Their meetings were held at monthly intervals, at each other's houses in succession, and their usual plan of proceeding was the following. After tea, which repast was always at half-past seven o'clock, minor points of business, such as balloting for a new member, &c., were first disposed of. These having been concluded, each in turn exhibited some anatomical or other preparation, which he had brought with him, and gave an account of its history, or what it was supposed to exemplify. If any difference of opinion arose from the consideration of these specimens, the matter was argued generally by the meeting. Occa-

sionally set papers were read, and the subjects on which they treated were also discussed. Minutes of the transactions and discussions were regularly made by the secretary, and this business being concluded, they adjourned at ten o'clock to supper; always, by their regulations, a cold one. The only stimulating beverage permitted to be drank on these occasions was, strangely enough for a society of medical men, the not very wholesome one of cold punch.

Although the members often remained at the meetings until a very late hour, the time was wholly, with the exception of that spent at the meals described, devoted to business; no cards or other kind of amusement being permitted to be introduced. The disputation was carried on in a free familiar manner, without even the formality of electing a chairman or president. Sometimes subjects of general science were mooted, but the discussion was usually confined to medical topics. Visitors were admitted to the meetings.

Through the kindness of my friend Dr. Yelloly, one of its founders, I am enabled to give a detailed account of the history of this club.

Dr. Yelloly writes: "Dr. Thos. Arch. Murray, the son of Dr. Murray of Norwich, may be considered as the founder of the Edinburgh Club. In the year 1800 poor Murray, after being three or four years settled in Norwich, came to London, and was colleague to Dr. Willan in the Public Dispen-

sary. He suggested to myself and Dr. Marcet, (that being the order in which he spoke to us,) to unite in forming a little monthly club of good fellowship, in which we cordially joined. We spoke to your uncle, who was always much attached to Edinburgh, and although it was some years previously to any of us being at Edinburgh that he was a student there, he at once became a member. Then, if I mistake not, followed Charles Aikin, Dr. Frampton, Dr. Young, and Dr. Webbe.

"Dr. Murray's brother, a solicitor, had removed with him to London, and lived in Greville Street, and our first meeting was there; Mr. Charles Murray being an honorary member when the club met at his brother's house. Dr. Murray was Secretary. In matters of election one black ball excluded. Cards were printed with a blank for date, &c., and Murray sent them out a week or ten days before the time of meeting. The hours of attendance were convenient, for if any member had a dinner engagement he could come late, so that our attendance was usually very good. Murray died of typhus fever at the Fever Institution, in about two years, and I succeeded him as Secretary. About this time we were joined by Dr. Farre, Mr. Travers, Dr. Pell, Dr. Bateman, and Dr. Curry.

"Dr. Young soon went abroad, and did not join us again. Dr. Webbe settled in the country, having been physician to the Finsbury Dispensary. Dr. Roget and Dr. Birkbeck joined us when they came to live in town; and also Dr. Wenthrip, who went

to Tunbridge Wells. Dr. Richard Bright and Dr. Gooch were also members of the club; but at present I do not recollect the names of any others. Some years after the formation of the Medical and Chirurgical Society we became acquainted with some very valuable members of that Society, whom it was important to have as members of our Club; particularly Lawrence, and I think George Young and others. They, however, had not studied in Edinburgh, and in order to obtain their admission among us, we changed our name to the Medical and Chirurgical Club.

"Every medical foreigner of distinction used regularly to visit us. Dr. Franck makes honourable mention of us; and I wish I had kept a list of our visitors: Professor Berzelius, Professor Pictet, Professor Franck, Dr. Wyllie, Dr. Hamel, were amongst the number. The last-named I saw only two or three years since in London."

CHAPTER XVI.

REVIEW OF MR. COOPER'S PROFESSIONAL CAREER PRIOR TO THE YEAR 1800. HIS POSITION IN PUBLIC ESTIMATION. HIS PROFESSIONAL INCOME. RESIGNATION OF MR. WILLIAM COOPER. THE CANDIDATES FOR HIS SITUATION. CURIOUS DOCUMENT. MR. HARRISON'S EXPLANATION OF IT, AND ACCOUNT OF THE CHANGE IN MR. COOPER'S POLITICAL FEELINGS. MR. COOPER APPOINTED SURGEON OF GUY'S HOSPITAL. ANECDOTES OF MR. WILLIAM COOPER. CHARACTERS AND ANECDOTES OF HIS COLLEAGUES IN GUY'S AND ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITALS. DR. CURRY. DR. ROOTS' COMMUNICATION IN REFERENCE TO MR. COOPER'S SUCCESSION TO THE SURGEONCY OF GUY'S HOSPITAL.

THE important period when Mr. Cooper was elected surgeon to Guy's Hospital now draws nigh, but before describing this event and the interesting circumstances with which it was attended, it will be well perhaps to take a general review of his previous professional career, and his position at this period. In doing so we cannot but note, how steadily and progressively he had been advancing towards the great object of his ambition—professional reputation. We observe from the very moment of his crossing the threshold of professional practice in 1791, a fixed resolution to achieve advancement by his own exertions; and that he might effect this, he would not suffer himself to be interrupted either by the political sentiments which he had imbibed, and which hurried many others of less steady princi-

ples to ruin or disgrace: or by domestic events, though many of them had been of the most serious character: or even by the calls of pleasure or indulgence, however inviting, prone as he was by nature to yield to such temptations; but we see throughout one undeviating system of industrious application of his time.

There were no qualities, not omitting even the high gifts of genius, which Sir Astley Cooper seemed to regard as more desirable or commendable in professional men, than industry and personal investigation. The words in which he describes, in one of his notes, the existence of these qualities in John Hunter, will exhibit his opinions on this subject with the greatest clearness.

"Mr. Hunter was, as Lavater said, *a man who thought for himself*, but he was more; he was the most *industrious* man that ever lived. He worked from six in the morning till twelve o'clock at night, and sometimes later.

"He would stand over the most minute object for three or four hours before breakfast, dissecting and exploring it. His vast museum is a proof of what industry can accomplish, for it contains matter for seven years' investigation.

"He worked at each thing for himself, although he might have heard about it by his brother's lectures, or by men who read for him.

"I went with him to the dissection of a whale, and he examined every part for himself, caring

nothing about dirt or trouble, and taking out parts of the animal for minute subsequent examination."

Among those who were best able to estimate Mr. Cooper's worth, his indefatigable perseverance had long since rendered him conspicuous; and he was regarded not only with the interest which attends those who have confessedly done well, but with the expectation of his achieving still greater things, and soon taking a high rank among the eminent of his profession. He was already esteemed one of the most excellent anatomists of his day, as well as one of the best instructors in the science. The attendance on his surgical lectures had been gradually increasing, and the study of surgery, as now conducted, formed the most important subject treated in the school. He had already appeared as an Author, and the abilities he had displayed, the scientific manner in which he had pursued his inquiries, together with his well-known zeal, industry, and fondness for anatomical and physiological research, all gave a promise of future contributions from his pen, calculated to advance the science of his profession, and to afford proportionate advantages to the public who sought its aid.

Still it is a singular fact, that, although among his professional brethren he had by this time taken so high a standing, neither this circumstance, nor the many favourable qualities which he possessed for ingratiating himself with others,—his commanding figure and deportment, and agreeable manners,—had

yet brought him into the confidence of the public as a professional adviser. The income which he derived from private practice, even at the period when he was elected Surgeon of Guy's Hospital, was very inconsiderable; by no means such as his position at the hospital and Surgeon's Hall, and the numerous attendance at his house of the poorer classes of patients, would have led us to expect. His receipts during these early years of his practice, of which he has left an account, exhibit a steady and, comparatively speaking, a considerable increase in his professional income, but at the same time form a remarkable contrast with the large sums which he afterwards annually derived in the same pursuits. "My receipt," says he, "for the first year was 5*l.* 5*s.*; the second, 26*l.*; the third, 64*l.*; the fourth, 96*l.*; the fifth, 100*l.*; the sixth, 200*l.*; the seventh, 400*l.*; the eighth, 610*l.*; the ninth," (the year he was appointed surgeon to the hospital,) "1100*l.*" He himself appends a remark, which sufficiently shows his feeling on this subject:—"although I was a lecturer all the time on anatomy and surgery."

For the last year or two he had been paying marked attention, not only to his more important duties as a lecturer, but to all the minor concerns which his position at the hospital devolved on him. He was, in all probability, aware of his uncle's intention of retiring in a short time from his situation as Surgeon; and was at once prompted by his ambition for professional distinction to seek the successorship. And indeed the strength of his position in the hos-

pital, as well from the situations he held in it, as from his general reputation, might very naturally give rise to such a desire.

He does not appear, however, to have received any encouragement or assistance towards the attainment of his object from his uncle, Mr. William Cooper: on the contrary, indeed, it was generally supposed by the friends of Mr. Astley Cooper of that period, that this gentleman favoured the views of one of the other candidates in opposition to those of his nephew. Mr. William Cooper had not been able to control a certain degree of feeling at the invidious distinction which was occasionally raised between himself and his nephew, from the high character and fame of the latter in the profession generally, but especially from his extreme popularity among the hospital students. He felt piqued also at the superior respect which his nephew invariably exhibited for the professional attainments of Mr. Cline, and the preference which, ever since the transference of his articles from his uncle to that gentleman, he had manifested towards St. Thomas's Hospital; for although the two hospitals were at this time united, there was always a certain degree of rivalry existing between the professional staff attached to each. To the influence of these feelings upon the mind of Mr. William Cooper, was generally attributed his indifference, if not opposition, to the succession of his nephew Astley to the office which he himself was about to vacate.

Many of Mr. Astley Cooper's friends, how-

ever, had already fixed upon him as the future Surgeon, and even the Treasurer appears to have regarded him as the most fitted professionally for the situation; for, during the years 1798 and 1799, he had several interviews with him, and expressed the gratification it would afford him to witness a change in his political associations and opinions.

Such then was the position of Astley Cooper when the anticipated resignation of his uncle, Mr. William Cooper, actually occurred, and caused the vacancy in the situation, which he had so long creditably filled, as Surgeon to Guy's Hospital. In addition to Mr. Astley Cooper, three other candidates for the office simultaneously arose. Two only of these had been regularly educated and attached to the hospital: Mr. Buckle, who had for some years been serving in the army; Mr. Whitfield, a brother of Mr. Whitfield, then the apothecary to St. Thomas's Hospital; the third candidate being Mr. Norris, who had never been an articled pupil to any of the surgeons of either Institution.

The last-mentioned gentleman, however, notwithstanding his want of the support which their connexion with the hospital afforded to the others, seems to have been the most formidable of Astley Cooper's opponents, owing to the strenuous exertions which Mr. Warner, who was closely attached to his interest, made in his favour. Mr. Warner had for some time been paving the way for his occupying the vacancy as soon as it occurred, by taking every means of introducing and putting him

forward at the hospital, and even by not unfrequently deputing him, when he himself was absent, to visit and attend his patients.

While, however, these gentlemen were relying on their age,—for they were all considerably Mr. Cooper's seniors,—their connexion with the institution, or on their private interest, Mr. Cooper put forth his claims on the ground, not merely of the regular and hard-earned gradations by which he had ascended to his present position in the hospital, but moreover on account of the important duties of assistant lecturer on Anatomy, and lecturer on Surgery, which he had now been performing for nearly ten years; not only with the greatest assiduity, but also with a degree of success few, if any, had ever arrived at before himself. These facts, together with the character he had acquired for the possession of distinguished industry and knowledge, would, in all probability, at once have secured him the possession of the vacant office, notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Norris, but for one circumstance, upon which it is probable his opponents in a great measure rested their hopes of success, and which tended to counteract the favourable influence his other qualities had gained for him: I mean the notoriety he had acquired as a political partisan.

Among the papers which came into my possession at the decease of my uncle, was a most singular document. As it was without date, signature, or mention of the office to which it referred, and also being in my uncle's own handwriting, it did not for

an instant occur to me that he was the principal object alluded to in its contents. The following is a copy of the letter:—

"*To the Treasurer of Guy's Hospital.*

"Sir,

"The candidates proposed for your choice at Guy's Hospital on Wednesday, are three gentlemen of tried abilities, who have served their king and country during the present war, and one who is a Jacobin, friend of Horne Tooke, and an associate of the celebrated Thelwall.

"By the nomination you may judge the sense of the present committees.

"CAUTION."

Being altogether at a loss to comprehend its application, I took the letter to Mr. Harrison, the present excellent Treasurer of the Hospital, and found him capable of at once solving the mystery.

"Yes," said he, "I remember receiving the letter of which this is a copy, as well as if it were but yesterday: it was in 1800, when your great uncle, Mr. William Cooper, resigned his office of surgeon. The particular position in which his nephew Astley stood at that moment, from the part he had been taking in the politics of the day, was a matter of the deepest concern to me. As the time approached for the selection of one of the candidates to fill the vacant office, I could not help feeling much hesitation and difficulty in recommending him to the Governors as a proper person to fill so responsible

a situation, although, at the same time, from his professional character and talent, I felt assured he was most competent for the performance of its duties. At the very time when I was meditating upon this painful difficulty, I received that anonymous letter, nor did it, as you may suppose, relieve my mind in any measure from the anxiety I had before experienced in determining my choice.

"I thought it right, however, directly to send for your uncle, and to explain to him the awkward position in which he had placed not only himself, but me, by his political associations, and the hesitation I naturally felt in making an appointment which would be open to so much vituperation and reproach, more especially in the face of a warning, stating facts with the truth of which I was but too well acquainted. I explained to him, moreover, that had the document not been conveyed to me anonymously, it must of necessity have been laid before the consideration of the Board of Governors."

Mr. Harrison's countenance pourtrayed, during this description, an evidence of the importance which he had attached to this part of my uncle's history, although at so distant a period. A smile, however, soon appeared on his countenance, and he gave to me the following account of what my uncle had related to him at this interview, in evidence of his having already determined to give up the cause of Mr. Harrison's anxiety,—his strong political views, as well as the old associates through whose influence they had been acquired and maintained.

"Your uncle," said Mr. Harrison, "told me the story so graphically, and at the same time with so much feeling, that he at once convinced me of his sincerity. The substance of what he said was this: 'If you think me, Sir, professionally competent to perform the duties of Surgeon to your Institution, you may rest assured that my politics, whether in thought or action, shall never interfere with my discharge of them; in fact, a regret has spontaneously arisen in my mind, not only that I have ever been prominent in political excitement at all, but more especially that I should have espoused the opinions of those with whom I have been connected. My friend Coleman, whom you know, Sir, was under the same democratical influence as myself, and I took a walk some time ago in Epping Forest, and instead of either of us feeling that exuberance of spirits which naturally was so common to us both, we walked along for half an hour without exchanging scarcely a word, when Coleman at last said to me, "Cooper, what is the matter with you? you have not uttered a syllable since we commenced our walk: you are unhappy about something." I retaliated, and remarked, that he had not been particularly loquacious, but at the same time soon confessed the truth of his observation, and told him that for some time an indescribable depression of spirits had taken possession of my mind, and I said, "Do you know, Coleman, that at this moment I feel a nasty disagreeable sensation about my throat," and at the same time grasping my neck, I continued, "and I should

not be much surprised if that is what we come to, if we persist in our intercourse with our present political set of associates. What good has it ever done us, Coleman? I am certain these unsettled discontented views are exciting no less harm on our minds, than on our success in life. They can never improve us in our profession, nor advance us in its practice; we had better have done with them, and think more of paying obedience to the laws of our country than of disputing their justice and propriety." Coleman, Sir, readily assented to this, and admitted that he had not been very happy of late, from the same cause.

"'Having thus opened our hearts to each other, we felt relieved from a burden, the weight of which we had never perhaps fully felt until we were now rendered conscious of it by its absence, and walking on together we mutually discussed our position and prospects, the characters of those with whom from political sympathy we had been associating, canvassed honestly and calmly the merits of their doctrines, and before our walk was ended, had each determined to relinquish the companionship and intimacy of our late democratical friends, and abandon for the future all participation in the strife of politics and party.'"

Mr. Harrison proceeded to tell me, that having heard this account, and perceiving its truth by Mr. Cooper's earnest manner of narration, he at once informed my uncle that the greatest obstacle in the way of his appointment was now happily removed,

and that he could now conscientiously recommend him to the notice of the Board of Governors. Sir Astley then begged that he might make a copy of the anonymous letter, which in fact was the identical one I had just shown to the Treasurer. The author of the original Mr. Harrison never knew.

The firmness with which Sir Astley Cooper adhered to this resolution is no little proof of the powerful control he could at pleasure exert over himself, for he at once and ever afterwards avoided meeting those political friends in whose society he had delighted, absented himself from all Mr. Cline's political parties, and gave himself wholly and entirely to professional considerations and pursuits. His maxim became, and this he never failed to inculcate in the younger portion of his acquaintance, "that as the duties of a surgeon extend alike to men of all parties and views, it must be most unwise for him to attach himself to any one particular set, and thus render adverse to him all maintaining contrary opinions." This important change in his feelings and his prospects, which, had it occurred but a few years before, would have afforded so much pleasure to both his parents, could now only give satisfaction to one, and she, worn by distress at the loss of her husband, and the infirmities of age and bodily affliction, was but little able to participate in that joy, which under happier circumstances she would so fully have experienced.

As soon as this change in his political feelings was made known, and he had obtained the sanction

of the Treasurer, there appears to have been no further impediment in the way of his appointment. Aware of the powerful interest which his opponents had among the medical staff of Guy's Hospital, he gave up all other business, and devoted himself for a time to the obtaining this important post. He personally waited on each of the Governors, then seventy-two in number, and from the reputation which he had acquired in the city, and the favourable recommendation of Mr. Harrison, soon found himself possessed of so many promises of votes in his favour, as to feel perfectly secure of his election. Nor were his anticipations in any degree fallacious: for, on the Board of Governors meeting to accept the resignation of Mr. William Cooper, and appoint another surgeon in his stead, Mr. Astley Cooper was at once chosen as the successor to his uncle. This event occurred in October, A.D. 1800.

From the above history it is clear that the election of Mr. Cooper to this important post, depended in a great measure upon the high estimation in which Mr. Harrison held his professional character. Upon this appreciation the subsequent success of Sir Astley must be said then principally to have depended; for, however high the character he had before attained among his professional friends and in the estimation of the public, had another been appointed in his stead, the preference could but have proved most prejudicial to his future prospects. The advantages thus derived from the disinterested selection of Mr. Harrison, were ever most gratefully

acknowledged by my uncle, and to the last moment of his life, when speaking of the sources to which he attributed his elevated position, he never failed to express the deepest gratitude for this mark of Mr. Harrison's esteem.

The other surgeons of Guy's Hospital, at this period, were Mr. Forster and Mr. Lucas; while at St. Thomas's Hospital were Mr. Chandler, Mr. Birch, and Mr. Cline. The physicians, at the same time, were, in the first mentioned hospital, Dr. Saunders, Dr. Ralph, and Dr. Babington; at the latter, Dr. Fordyce, Sir Gilbert Blane, and Dr. Crawford.

Sir Astley has left, among his notes, some brief remarks on the characters of his colleagues, who, with the exception of Mr. Cline, from their not having devoted the same amount of attention to the science of anatomy as Astley Cooper had, appear to have opened advantages to him which he would not otherwise have obtained. "I was always of opinion," says he, in one portion of his memoranda, "that Mr. Cline and I gained more reputation at the hospitals by assisting our colleagues than by our own operations, for they were always in scrapes, and we were obliged to help them out of them."

The characters of Mr. Cline and Mr. William Cooper have been already noticed in the previous part of this volume. The following anecdotes, by Sir Astley, of his uncle, Mr. William Cooper, however, have not been hitherto given:—

"My uncle was a man of great feeling, too much

so to be a surgeon. He was going to amputate a man's leg in the theatre of the hospital, when the poor fellow, terrified at the display of instruments and apparatus, suddenly jumped off the table, and hobbled off, upon which the operator, instead of following the man, and attempting to persuade him to submit to the evil which circumstances rendered necessary, turned round, and said, apparently much relieved by his departure, 'By G—d, I am glad he 's gone.'

"My uncle was fond of anatomy, and was very much in the dissecting room; and one day, observing a young military surgeon, whom he knew to be an idle fellow, lolling over the fire, he said to him aloud, 'Sir, you have learnt one duty of a soldier, which is, to stand fire, I perceive.' The gentleman never felt easy again in that position."

Of Mr. Forster, he says, in another place, "Mr. Forster was a gentlemanlike man in his appearance, but not so in reality, for, at dinner, he would swear at waiters and abuse them.

"He was only a quarter of an anatomist, but neat and dexterous. The first operation I did, after I was appointed Surgeon at Guy's Hospital, was to assist him in an operation for ——, in which he had got into a difficulty."

I myself remember Mr. Forster as one of the surgeons of Guy's Hospital. He had a gentlemanly appearance, tinged with a military bearing, which he acquired from having, early in life, been

in the army. He ever maintained high constitutional principles, and always expressed the greatest respect for the Monarch; and I am told by a friend of his, that upon once hearing Mr. Cline declare, "that the French Revolution was a glorious cause for a man to shed his blood in," he indignantly turned away, and would never meet in friendly association with him afterwards.

Sir Astley proceeds:—

"Mr. Lucas was a clever manipulator and a neat surgeon, but not an anatomist, and he hence, &c. He got 300*l.* per annum by bleeding, visited a hundred families, but, he told me, never got more than 500*l.* per annum.

"Mr. Lucas, jun^r., succeeded his father. He had ill health, and could not study anatomy. He was neat handed, but rash in the extreme, cutting amongst most important parts as if it was only skin, and making us always shudder from apprehension of his opening arteries, or committing some other errors.

"Chandler was a good tempered man, but wanted firmness and knowledge. He was so quick, that even before the dressings were removed from an old woman's back, I have heard him say, 'Nothing on God's earth, my good woman, can be looking better,' and at once pass on to another patient. He was remarkably rapid in common operations. He was always the same, and if he had lived five hundred years, would have always remained so.

"Birch was a sensual man; clever, but a bad surgeon. He had neglected anatomy, and was there-

fore afraid in all operations which required a knowledge of it. I have seen him, &c. He devoted himself much to electricity, and thought he could do wonders with it. Mr. Cline and Birch were always opposed to each other."

No remarks, however laboured, would have the power of demonstrating so clearly as the above careless notes, the estimation in Sir Astley's mind of the science of anatomy, and its essential importance in the formation and success of the Surgeon; for while, on the one hand, he attributes the inferiority of his colleagues entirely to want of this knowledge, he, on the other, equally traces the superiority of Mr. Cline and himself to its possession.

Sir Astley thus characterizes some of the physicians who were cotemporary with him:—

"Dr. Babington was the most disinterested of creatures, and the most delightful of men.

"A good father, a good husband, a sincere friend, a loveable companion.

"Very humble, very respectful to others. I never knew so good or so cheerful a man.

"He had learned Physic as Apothecary to Guy's Hospital.

"Birch said, that they had spoiled a good Apothecary in trying to make him a Physician. Babington waited on him, and asked him if he had said so, saying that he must answer for his impertinence. Birch, however, assured him it was only said in *badinage*, and slunk out of it.

"Babington lost a great number of children.

"He was subject to frequent headaches, which deprived him of the power of pursuing his profession for a day or two at a time; and he told me the disease was incurable, as far as he could learn from his own experience, and that of others.

"Dr. Saunders was a most entertaining lecturer, but superficial person, with a considerable share of genius.

"He would give out that he should lecture, next day, on Absorption, and ask some one to get him Cruickshank, that he might not come down entirely ignorant."

Sir Astley makes no allusions to Dr. Ralph.

His remarks on the physicians cotemporary with him at St. Thomas's Hospital are the following:—

"Dr. Fordyce was a coarse man, a bad lecturer, got drunk every evening, and Mr. Cline said, was not over careful about truth.

"He himself said he was the only Scotchman he ever knew that had entirely lost his native dialect, and this he would assert in the broadest Scotch it could be spoken in.

"He was a remarkable instance of the force of habit, maintaining to the last that Fermentation was the cause of Digestion and Secretion.

"His best paper was on 'Purgatives.'"

Mr. Whitfield, the late Apothecary of St. Thomas's Hospital, once related to me an anecdote

of Dr. Fordyce, with whom he was on terms of the closest intimacy, which will illustrate one of the habits to which Sir Astley has alluded. Dr. Fordyce was one evening, at a late hour, called to see a lady of title who was supposed to have been taken suddenly ill. The Doctor, as was not unfrequently the case at that hour, had become "*ebriolus*," if not "*ebrius*," but nevertheless immediately obeyëd the summons. Arrived in the apartment of his patient, he seated himself by her side, and having listened to the recital of a train of symptoms which appeared rather anomalous, next proceeded to examine the state of her pulse. He tried to reckon the number of its strokes, but in vain: the more he endeavoured to effect his object, the more his brain whirled, and the less self-control could he exert. Conscious of the cause of his difficulty, in a moment of irritation, he inadvertently muttered out an exclamation:—"Drunk, by ——!" The lady heard the remark, but remained silent; and, having prescribed a mild remedy, one which he invariably used on *such occasions*, the Doctor shortly afterwards took his departure.

Early the next morning he was roused by a somewhat imperative message from his patient of the previous evening, to attend her immediately; and he at once concluded that the object of this summons was either to inveigh against him for the state in which he had visited her on the former occasion, or, perhaps, for having administered too potent a medicine. Ill at ease from these reflections,

he entered the lady's presence, fully prepared to listen to a severe reprimand. The patient, however, began by thanking him for his immediate attention to her wishes, and then proceeded to say how much she had been struck by his discernment on the previous evening; confessed that unfortunately she was occasionally addicted to the error which he had detected, and concluded by observing that the object of her sending for him at so early an hour was to obtain from him a promise that he would hold inviolably secret the condition in which he had found her. "You may depend upon me, madam," replied Dr. Fordyce, instantly, and with a countenance which had not altered its expression since the commencement of the patient's story; "I shall be as silent as the grave."

The above anecdote offers an example of the strange events which sometimes are the means by which professional men may be brought into practice. Dr. Fordyce's patient on this occasion was a lady of fortune and influence, and proved of essential service to him, by introducing him into the circle of her acquaintance.

Sir Astley proceeds:—

"Sir Gilbert Blane was a pains-taking physician, but he was so cold in his temperament, that we called him 'Chilblaine.'

"Dr. Crawford was an ingenious man, who, with small means, made the most delicate experiments.

"I was surprised at the closet in which he worked, and the manufacture of his instruments, which were

all his own making, even to the most delicate thermometers. With these slender means he developed a theory on the source of animal heat, which raised his reputation high in the estimation of philosophers."

Shortly after Mr. Cooper's appointment to Guy's Hospital, two of the physicians of St. Thomas's resigned, and were succeeded by Dr. Wells and Dr. Lister.

Sir Astley Cooper says of these gentlemen :—

"Dr. Wells was an ingenious, but most irritable man.

"He once said, before Dr. Cooke, physician of the London Hospital: 'I am going to die, Cooke, and am very low spirited; but I should not mind dying, if I was sure of going to heaven.' 'Oh,' said Dr. Cooke, 'be assured you will never be admitted there; for St. Peter, as soon as he sees you, will shut the door, and say:—We will have no such quarrelsome fellows here!'

"His paper on Dew was excellent.

"Dr. Lister was a good, kind, and friendly man; he for a short time assisted Dr. Saunders in his lectures, but their styles were so different that they soon separated.

"Dr. Lister was an excellent and safe physician. He attended Mrs. Parmenter, my daughter, and my wife."

Sir Astley Cooper does not appear to have held many of the physicians of his day in high estimation, as the following rough but interesting comparison between the professional characters of some of those

above described, and the celebrated Dr. Matthew Baillie, will serve to show.

"Matthew Baillie," says Sir Astley, "was remarkable for his kindness to the whole profession, but especially so to the junior members of it,—he knew his frown could chill their aspiring hopes, or a contemptuous word crush and destroy them. They had no fear of his seeing their patients without them, as they knew no word of censure would escape his lips. He was not an assassin, who would proffer one hand in friendship, and stab in the back with the other.

"His integrity was as remarkable as his consideration and kindness.

"The candour of Baillie was another striking feature in his character.

"He laid the foundation of the practice of medicine as it at present stands, for before his time it was chiefly empirical. It was his cultivation and knowledge of morbid anatomy, and numerous opportunities in practice, which gave to medicine the scientific character it now holds.

"I recollect many of the physicians of my early time,—Dr. Fordyce, Dr. ——, Dr. Curry,—and they were all empirics.

"Dr. Fordyce, in going round St. Thomas's Hospital, uniformly practised as follows:—

"'Put out your tongue,—there; now let me feel your pulse,—that will do,' and then he prescribed.

"Dr. —— said of himself, that the longer he

practised, the more empirical he found he became, and the more he prescribed to symptoms. Although, however, not alive to the science, he was disposed to the trade of the profession. It happened that a large quantity of red bark was brought to London, and was bought by certain persons. The Doctor puffed off this red bark, and it had a great sale. Soon after this the yellow bark was brought into the market, and bought up. The Doctor now wished to puff off this, 'but,' said he, 'I have exhausted the language of panegyric upon the red bark, so we will admit Dr. —— into partnership, and he shall publish the fame of the yellow bark.' It still, however, remained a DRUG.

"Dr. Curry was also, in my view, a great empiric, for with him there was only one organ diseased, the Liver, and only one medicine to be prescribed, Calomel. He could not be corrected, for if one of his patients died, and was examined, and Dr. Curry was told that there was no disease of the Liver, he replied that he had cured it.

"Such was medicine until Baillie brought out his work; but since his time every physician has felt it necessary to be conversant with anatomy, morbid anatomy, and medicine."

However fallacious the views of Dr. Curry might have been with respect to the liver being almost invariably the seat of disease, there can be no doubt, but that he was quite honest in his conviction, and that he practised under its influence;

without any sinister motive. With respect to himself, he always believed he was labouring under a disease of the liver, and one of a peculiar nature; for he thought that there was a worm in the gall bladder. The supposed attempts which this worm every now and then made to effect its escape through the duct, created considerable irritation, and constituted one of the Doctor's hepatic attacks. For these he immediately flew to his favourite remedy, calomel. The reason which he gave for always failing in getting rid of the worm was amusing, for he said, "that directly the creature felt the influence of the mercury, it ran back again to his gall bladder."

I remember when I was a pupil at Guy's, that a report prevailed, that Dr. Curry sprinkled calomel on the meat in the sandwiches which he ate for luncheon. This story of the "calomel sandwiches" arose from the essential importance which the Doctor always attributed to this medicine in the preservation of health, his frequent recommendation of its use to the pupils, and his employment of it in his own person.

Dr. Curry was a most eloquent lecturer and public speaker; indeed, his diction was always elegant and powerful. He resented vehemently any thing like disturbance during a lecture, and upon one occasion, when a pupil who had dropped an umbrella was stooping to pick it up, Dr. Curry, in a tone of the severest sarcasm, told him to "let it remain where it was, and it would prevent the possibility even of his folly making any further noise

with it." The class was very indignant at this want of courtesy in their lecturer, and we had a meeting to determine on the best means of showing our displeasure, and resenting his conduct. The result was, that it was agreed that two of us during the next lecture should arise, and first one, and then the other, express the feeling his conduct had created in the minds of his class. The next morning the Doctor entered, and began his lecture, but his quick eye soon discovered that something more than usual was engaging the attention of the class, and the impression had hardly reached his mind before one of the deputed pupils commenced his preconcerted address. Dr. Curry listened with the greatest attention, as if he wished to lead the class to suppose that his silence admitted the propriety of the step they were taking. No sooner, however, had the first orator finished, than the Doctor, in a short, eloquent, and sarcastic speech, gave such a reproof, not only to the person who had spoken, but to every individual of the class, as to quell them at once and restore them to perfect subordination, leaving in the mind of each a conviction of the folly of which they had been guilty. I was to have been the second speaker, but, by good fortune, Dr. Curry's first few words were quite sufficient to prevent any attempt from me at drawing upon myself more than my share of the general vituperation.

In the early part of his professional career, Dr. Curry resided for several years with Dr. Babington,

and through his interest became connected with Guy's Hospital, and owed indeed all his after success in life to the kindness of this friendly patron. Dr. Curry was an Irishman, and I believe had been known to Dr. Babington's family before his arrival in London: not that any previous acquaintanceship was necessary to secure to any professional brother from the Emerald Isle a passport to Dr. Babington's house and friendship. Although thus intimately connected, there never were two persons less alike in every point of view than Dr. Babington and Dr. Curry: the one all meekness, simplicity, and benevolence of disposition: the other, irascible, peevish, and overbearing, but yet possessing an honesty of purpose, and a strictness of integrity in conduct, which could not but create esteem towards him. He was a most eccentric person in some of his habits, one of the most peculiar of which was an almost monomaniacal tendency to visit auctions. Although penurious in some respects, he would purchase at these places quantities of books which he would never unpack, electrical apparatus, microscopes, globes, folios of prints, &c., and these, crowded together, occupied parts of every room in his house. His form was diminutive, his frame attenuated, and his countenance indicating a temper soured by ill-health and habitual dissatisfaction. He was frequently consulting Dr. Babington about the state of his health, and about his worldly affairs. On one occasion, towards the latter period of his life, Dr. Curry, to my knowledge, sent for Dr. Babington to

inform him that he had left to him the bulk of his property; upon which the Doctor said, "My dear sir, you have a brother, and other near relatives; I consider you have no right to dispose of your fortune in the way you mention, and so strongly am I impressed with this conviction, that nothing could induce me to retain it if left to me, and I will not go from you until you faithfully promise me that you will reconsider this subject, and justly bequeath what you may have to leave, to those whose consanguinity gives them a right to expect, if not to claim it." Some few years afterwards Dr. Curry died, and (leaving small legacies to Dr. Babington, and to several of his children,) he bequeathed the larger portion of his property to his brother, who immediately after Dr. Curry's death, came over from Ireland to arrange his affairs, and take possession of the legacy.

The following extract from Dr. William Roots' letter to me, other portions of which have been already inserted in some previous chapters, has reference to this period, and will be interesting to the reader, not only from the additional light it throws on my uncle's position and character but also from the zeal and good feeling which characterizes the writer. I have already mentioned that Dr. Roots was a dresser under Mr. William Cooper, at Guy's Hospital.

"In 1800 Mr. William Cooper resigned his post as Surgeon to Guy's Hospital, and his nephew Mr.

Astley Cooper was unanimously elected in his room; and an important era was it to the fame of this school of surgery, for Mr. Cline's presence at the sister hospital had given a predominant character and sway to St. Thomas's. Although the two institutions were considered as in unison, and concurrent in their advantages, yet to have been a pupil of Cline, and to have carried a box* under his superintendence, always gave a man a character and lift in his after life.

"Guy's Hospital now began to share this great pre-eminence, and one of the proudest of my professional recollections is, that upon the election of Sir Astley to this post at Guy's, he in the kindest way imaginable requested me to continue to dress for him during his first year, without paying the usual fee, saying at the same time, by way of lessening the obligation, 'that it was not only to serve himself, by having one he could depend upon, but that he wished it as a compliment to his uncle, whose favourite he knew I had the happiness to be.'

"Hence it was that I enjoyed the proud office of tying the artery at his first amputation after his appointment to Guy's. Perhaps it may be called vanity, when I cannot let slip the opportunity of

* The *dressers* of the Hospital at this period, when they attended the surgeons in their visits to the wards, were in the habit of carrying a box, containing the instruments, plaisters, bandages, &c., which were likely to be required in dressing the patients.

expressing the pride I feel, on reflecting how few at this moment are remaining, that can boast of ever having assisted two such men as John Hunter and Astley Cooper in the performance of their professional deeds. It so happened, that a very short time before the sudden death of Hunter, and whilst in my apprenticeship, he in the kindest way lent his aid in the adjustment of a compound fracture, and on its being completed to his satisfaction, he clapped me on the back in the presence of the family, and said, 'Well done, my boy, hereafter you will have to say, "*John Hunter was your assistant.*"'

"From the period of Astley's appointment to Guy's until the moment of his latest breath, he was everything and all to the suffering and afflicted; his *name* was a host, but his *presence* brought confidence and comfort; and I have often observed that on an operating day, should anything occur of an untoward character in the theatre, the moment Astley Cooper entered, and the instrument was in his hand, every difficulty was overcome, and safety generally ensued."

CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Travers is articled as Pupil to Mr. Cooper, A.D. 1800, and resides with him for some Years. Mr. Travers' Reminiscences of the time of his Pupilage with my Uncle. An Adventure. Mr. Cooper's Personal Appearance. His Attendance at Guy's Hospital. Mr. Cooper's Temper and Disposition. His Habits and Mode of Living. Mr. Cooper's Business in 1800. His Professional Pursuits. Mr. Cooper's Sympathy with Mental Suffering. An Epigram by Mr. Cooper. Mr. Cooper's Attention to Dress. Searle, the Hairdresser. Anecdotes. Mr. Cooper's Adoption of his Godson. His Servant Charles. The Zeal of this Person in his Master's Service.

As the character of my friend Mr. Travers is so well known to the public at large, and to the profession, any portion of the history of Sir Astley Cooper substantiated by his cognizance, must necessarily carry with it the greatest importance and authenticity.

Mr. Travers commenced his professional career under Mr. Cooper's auspices, a short time previous to his election to the surgeoncy of Guy's Hospital, and resided with him for some years. I had always been accustomed to hear my uncle, when referring to this period, speak of Mr. Travers, not only as a favourite pupil, but as one whom he found to be an additional source of comfort to his family, rather than, as is too often the case with house-pupils, a check to domestic happiness. Knowing this, I

thought it probable that he would be enabled to give me some characteristic anecdotes of my uncle, during the time of his residence with him, of a more intimate nature than I could gain from any other individual; and I think my readers will find, that my expectations have not been disappointed.

Mr. Travers writes:—

"Something of an adventure occurred to impress my mind, a young man of seventeen, with a lively recollection of my *début* as Mr. Cooper's articled student in the summer of 1800. I accompanied him in his gig to Newington Green, a village three miles from London, on the evening of the second day of my residence with him. It was to examine the body of an elderly lady who had died of cancer of the stomach. The operation was conducted by candlelight, and though I had never before seen a corpse, I was chief assistant on this occasion. I made a strong effort to assume a part, appear *au fait*, and give all the aid in my power, undressing, and, in part, sewing up the body, and bringing away a precious, though not over fragrant, relic of the old lady's interior upon my person.

"The second part of this adventure was a narrow escape from footpads in driving home through a bye lane. The night being pitch dark, and the neighbourhood not being over built or patrolled, as now, a low, significant whistle from behind the hedge, and the glimpse of a man in a white coat, caused

my master to turn his horse abruptly, and gallop back to the first public house. There the landlord confirmed our belief, that we had escaped a notorious gang then infesting those parts, and arming himself with a blunderbuss, accompanied by two pot-valiant customers with other destructive weapons, he marched in front of our horse till we reached the high road. Mr. Cooper's pocket would have afforded booty, no doubt: the valued spoils in my possession, we thought would have been less appreciated.

"Astley Cooper, when I first knew him, had decidedly the handsomest, that is, the most intelligent and finely-formed countenance and person of any man I remember to have seen. He wore his hair powdered, with a queue, then the custom, and having dark hair, and always a fine healthy glow of colour in his cheeks, this fashion became him well. His frequent costume, during the summer, when taking horse exercise, (for at this season he rode daily on horseback,) was a blue coat and the yellow buckskin breeches and top-boots, then much in vogue. There was a fine and quickly-responsive animation in his eye, and though he was of full height, the outline of his frame was muscular and flowing, without an approach to corpulency. He was remarkably upright, and moved with grace, vigour, and elasticity; nor was he altogether unconscious of the fine proportions of his frame, for he would not unfrequently throw his well-shaped leg upon the table at lecture, when describing an

injury or operation of the lower limb, that he might more graphically demonstrate the subject of his discourse.

"Guy's Hospital, to which he was newly elected Surgeon, on the retirement of his uncle, Mr. William Cooper, shared a large portion of his time. He was in the habit of visiting it at any unoccupied interval, in addition to his regular days of attendance. He would look at particular or urgent cases, before and after lecture, and he generally went round, *à loisir*, as a florist would visit his parterre, with two or three elder students, on a Sunday morning. His interest in his profession was genuine, independent of the additional incitement of the love of reputation or of gain. This was equally evinced in the dissecting-room, and in the wards of the Hospital: of the two, I should say, his passion was for minute anatomy.

"I do not speak in detail of his peculiar professional merits, because they are your province, and would necessarily require a survey of his life; but I may observe that he was distinguished, at the time of which I am speaking, by an untiring energy of character, and the faculty of communicating his opinions, and his ardour, by conversation with the young men around him. He tried to elicit remarks from them with remarkable earnestness, nor did he often fail to excite a disposition on their part to meet his wishes.

"I often dined and spent the evening alone with him, and we used to discuss points of physiology

together. He would suggest experiments, or direct my attention to cases in the Hospital, bearing upon unworked subjects in pathology; always with the intention, if not always with the effect, of animating my zeal and industry. I but do him justice in expressing my lively gratitude for such opportunities of advancement which he thus afforded me.

"Cheerfulness of temper amounting to vivacity, and a relish for the ludicrous, never deserted him, and his chuckling laugh, scarce smothered while he told his story, will never be forgotten by any who were accustomed to it. Of a piece with this was an habitual air of *bonhommie*, and a good-natured mirthfulness of look and manner, in listening to the narration even of a stranger. He had also an irresistible temptation to perpetrate a pun, if opportunity offered, not always so original as obvious.

"The simplicity of his habits and mode of living were in perfect keeping with the activity of a mind which was intently bent upon great objects. He rose and generally retired early, nor did he allow his toilet to occupy much of his time. His meals were quickly dispatched, and though he ate heartily, he never drank anything but water at dinner, and rarely exceeded two glasses of port wine after. He had a Spartan contempt for self-indulgence at table, and used to say 'he could digest anything but sawdust.'

"He was as little enslaved by habits as any man. Though not appreciating the pleasures of domestic life, as commonly understood, he never

tired of the monotony of occupation, nor did he seek relief from his labours by company, amusements, or other variety than that which his increasing occupation afforded him of acquiring insight into character. From this philosophical source he derived much amusement, and often made us merry with the details.

"The organ of order was imperfectly developed in him, if not wanting, and he was essentially insusceptible of its comforts; careless, if not slovenly. This was evident enough in his consulting-room, which presented a perfect chaos of confusion when he quitted it for the day.

"His business, though respectable, was not large when first I knew him. Very shortly before, he had attended a merchant, a friend of my father, with a broken leg, whom he afterwards assured that his fee formed the half of that year's income.

"Like other shrewd observers of human nature, he made the prudent resolution not to form too close an intimacy with those who sought his professional advice. In illustration of this caution, he used to tell a story of having fallen into a sudden admiration of an historical picture during a protracted attendance; at the conclusion of which he became the reluctant possessor of the treasure, in lieu of a fee.

"For the crosses and painful events incident to professional life, he would say that the only and sufficient consolation was the reflection 'of having done your best.'

"He had, as you know, but little respect for medical literature, always preferring, in his own terms, the 'Book of Nature,' and estimating the talent of original observation, and the cultivation of it, as the great end and object of professional pursuit.

"He instigated me to the formation of a Clinical Society, which flourished for many years at Guy's Hospital under my auspices. It was confined to the pupils: the Demonstrators and Seniors being chosen Presidents. I officiated as Secretary. We used to read interesting cases occurring in the Hospital, and discuss them freely, and the treatment adopted. Members yet survive who can attest the fact of its having been an interesting and profitable association, productive of much cordiality and usefulness.

"Neither his temperament nor his education had endowed him with a sensitiveness which in any degree disqualified him for the performance of his professional duties on the most trying occasions. In other words, he possessed an insusceptibility, equal to his powers of physical endurance. I mention this to meet the imputation of want of sensitiveness, with which I have heard him reproached. He was not deficient in feeling, although it flowed in a deeper current, out of the reach of ordinary circumstances.

"I shall never forget his emotion, of which I alone was a witness, upon perusing the posthumous letter of a favourite pupil, who had raised his hand against his own life; his utterance was choked with

sobs, and he wept as for the loss of an only child. He once remarked to me, that he knew people gave him no credit for feeling, and with bodily pain he confessed he had little sympathy; but that the appeal from the evidence of mental suffering was irresistible.

"Another pupil, whose father had been reduced to bankruptcy, he accosted, upon hearing of his misfortunes, in these remarkable terms: 'I condole with your family, but I congratulate you; this will be the making of you. It was all that was wanting to your professional success.' He thus evinced the warmth of his personal regard, as well as his accurate knowledge of human nature.

"Perhaps you will be surprised to hear that, though not a poet, he could occasionally hit off an epigram. The following impromptu escaped him on seeing the picture of the Medical Society of London, including a variety of portraits, painted by an artist of the name of Medley.

"Subject and artist are the same,
Analogy can scarce be stricter,
For Medley is the limner's name,
A medley truly is the picture."

The above communication, valuable from the comparatively remote period at which the connexion of Mr. Travers with my uncle commenced, embraces many interesting points of Mr. Cooper's character, most of which I shall have an opportunity of illustrating still further, in the course of this history.

Mr. Travers has alluded to the style of my uncle's dress, at the period when he first knew him. It may perhaps be an unexpected fact to those who knew Mr. Cooper only in his latter days, that, in early life, he devoted particular attention to the character and style of his attire, and had indeed the reputation of being one of the best-dressed men in the city of London; a reputation to which his noble form and bearing no doubt greatly contributed. A person whom I shall have presently to mention, has described to me Mr. Cooper's ordinary dress, about the year 1800, as consisting of white silk stockings, white, or slightly-coloured silk knee-breeches, a light waistcoat, and blue coat, his hair being much powdered, and arranged with particular taste and attention. It is worthy of mention, however, that Mr. Cooper never allowed the business of the toilet to interfere with his more important avocations; for, although paying the attention to dress which I have noticed, his toilet was invariably concluded, at the latest hour, by half-past seven, and, each morning, by eight o'clock or shortly after, he had finished his breakfast, and was fully engaged in the first portion of his day's business: the attending to pauper patients, who at that early hour flocked to him for advice.

The duty of dressing Mr. Cooper's hair devolved upon a very amusing character, a hairdresser of the name of Searle, a man of whom I have heard many anecdotes related by my uncle, Mr. Coleman, and others. He had dressed Mr. Cooper's hair ever

since he had come to London, for, being Mr. Cline's attendant in the same capacity, he used to come every morning, not only to officiate for him, but also for all the pupils living in his house.

As at this period powder was worn and their queues tied, the time occupied in this business was considerable, and as Searle was an odd, eccentric fellow, Mr. Coleman and my uncle especially, when they resided together, used to amuse themselves by practising innumerable tricks upon him. I have seen these two, in after life, burst into fits of immoderate laughter, as they talked over the following scenes.

They had been dissecting a Monkey, which had been sent them from the menagerie at that time existing in the Tower, and while the attention of Searle was deeply occupied in cutting and curling Taylor's hair, Coleman, unobserved, removed the puff from his box, and in its stead inserted all the entrails of the Monkey. The curling being finished, and the powder having next to be deposited upon the hair, Searle, as usual, plunged his hand into his box to seize the puff. The poor fellow's mingled confusion, horror, and disgust, when he brought out the unexpected contents which Mr. Coleman had placed there instead of what he sought, formed a scene which could only be imagined from witnessing the immoderate effect the recollection of it produced on the risibility of my uncle and Coleman,—not from the words in which they attempted to describe it.

Towards the latter part of Mr. Cooper's residence with Mr. Cline, Searle was rendered blessed by a pledge of affection from his amiable partner, and Mr. Cooper kindly called to see this object of his paternal pride. The kind feelings which had induced him to make this visit could not restrain him from practising the following joke upon the feelings of the doating father. On the next morning after his visit, Mr. Cooper, when expressing his congratulations to Searle, upon this addition to his domestic happiness, at the same time inquired of him, with a most serious countenance and marked emphasis:—"But, Searle, how does it happen that your child is so extremely like Mr. Coleman?" To which, colouring to the ears, Searle indignantly replied,—"None of your nonsense, Mr. Cooper; Mr. Coleman never drank tea at my house but once in his whole life." There must have been something inexpressibly ludicrous in Searle's manner and expression of countenance, to have called up, as these stories always did in after times, the boisterous merriment which they invariably excited.

A thousand such tricks was poor Searle constantly subjected to, but although a simple-minded, he was an honest, worthy fellow. He continued to dress Mr. Cooper's hair, nearly up to the period of his death, which occurred soon after the time when Mr. Cooper left the city. Such a respect did my uncle feel for old Searle, that he sent one of his sons to the hospital, and educated him for the medical profession. This person afterwards rose to

a highly respectable position as a general practitioner.

Several interesting events occurred in the domestic affairs of my uncle about this period. Just prior to his appointment as Surgeon to Guy's Hospital, in the month of September, Mr. Cooper had paid a visit to my father's house at Yarmouth. Here he for the first time saw my brother Astley, the present Baronet, who was then a child of little more than two years of age. The reader is already in possession of the circumstances of the illness, which prevented Mr. Cooper attending in person the christening of his godson. Having, however, once become acquainted with his little namesake, he determined not very readily to part with him again; for, during his visit, he offered to take his nephew back with him to London, and educate and foster him as if he were his own child. The improbability of his ever having any family of his own; a desire to supply a playmate for Mrs. Cooper's adopted daughter Sarah; and, perhaps, also, a wish in some degree to relieve my father from the heavy charge of so large a family, seem to have been the chief inducements with him to make this proposition. My father, who had, on a previous occasion, refused a similar request, could not refrain from acceding to it, now that his family had so much increased; perceiving, too, the numerous advantages, of which he would in all probability deprive his child by his denial.

The proposal was, therefore, accepted, and Mr.

Cooper, at his own request, was permitted to take charge of the child to London. He returned by the night coach, and arrived in town without any occurrence of note. It would have afforded a not unamusing spectacle to some of his professional friends, to have seen the manly Astley Cooper, within a month of his being created a Hospital Surgeon, thus seated in a corner of the Old Blue Yarmouth coach, with his young *protégé* on his lap, soothing it to sleep, or otherwise ministering to wants which, in after life, although more artificial, were ever as anxiously relieved by the fostering care of his uncle. Nor is it more than due to the nephew to record, that, probably, only during the twenty hours passed in this journey, did he ever cause his uncle to regret this spontaneous adoption; his conduct always having been calculated, by affectionate respect and implicit confidence, to repay, as far as possible, the deep obligation he owed to his benefactor.

When Mr. Cooper reached his house, I am informed, he ran up stairs to his wife with the child in his arms, saying, as he entered the room, "Here, Ann, as you have a daughter, I thought we might as well have a son, as a companion for her; so I have brought you my little godson from Yarmouth. The little boy was soon comfortably nestled in the arms of an aunt, whose care from that moment was never short of what the fondest mother could have bestowed.

An occurrence of importance to Mr. Cooper took

place in the year 1800: the arrival of his celebrated servant Osbaldeston, or as he was commonly called, "CHARLES,"—a person who, by his zeal, activity, and cleverness, soon gained the confidence of his master, and succeeded not only in contributing to his interest, but eventually in raising himself into a substantial and respectable position in society. The length of Charles's surname was at once found to be extremely inconvenient, and in a short time settled down to Balderson, a cognomen which offered a greater facility of pronunciation, and has been retained by him ever since.

Charles came to St. Mary Axe in October, shortly after Mr. Cooper's appointment at the Hospital. He seems to have been, in every respect, a person well calculated to perform the duties required of him. Young, robust, and active, seeing in his master's interest, his own, and therefore not only keenly alive to every means of promoting it, but willing and anxious to devote all his energies to the purpose; possessed of much more tact, disposition for manœuvre, and a certain knowledge of the world, than his master, he could not only turn Mr. Cooper's practice to the best advantage, but in many ways add to its amount. I have heard him boast that, as far as he knew, in the twenty-six years in which he was my uncle's professional servant, he never lost but one case in which it was possible for him to procure his master's attendance.

Mr. Cooper being at Tottenham, or at the distance of six or seven miles from the spot, where he

might be required, offered no difficulties to Charles, as to procuring him; but either requesting the patient, if he had called at Mr. Cooper's house, to sit down while he fetched his master, or promising to send him in a short time, if he were wanted elsewhere, he would jump into a postchaise, and travelling as fast as the horses could convey him, he would bring his master usually in so short a time, that few patients were lost by not being able to wait for his arrival. Not unfrequently the expenses of these rapid expeditions were much greater than the fee received could liquidate, but that was a circumstance of which Mr. Cooper never complained, for he was almost reckless of expenditure, when his professional advancement or pursuits were concerned in the outlay. He used to remark, "It is worth spending any money merely to convince the public that your opinion is at all times to be obtained."

The two following anecdotes, which were mentioned to me by Charles, sufficiently exemplify his own vigilance in the matters of which I have been speaking; and at the same time are of some little interest in reference to the progress of Mr. Cooper himself, in his professional advancement.

Alderman Bridges once sent in the greatest haste for Mr. Cooper, in consequence of a severe injury to his leg, which he had met with near Hampstead Heath. The pomposity and authoritative manners of the messenger, which were derived, perhaps, as much from his conviction of the greatness of the city functionary to whom the accident

had happened, as from the serious nature of the injury itself, made a great impression on Charles, and induced him, with more than usual energy, to seek his master, who was at the time absent from home, but he did not know precisely where. Getting into a coach, he drove from place to place, endeavouring to find Mr. Cooper, but in vain; and he was about to give up the search in despair, from hearing Mr. Cline had been sent for in consequence of the delay, when he learned that he had left London for Tottenham. Upon hearing this, as quickly as possible he got into a post-chaise, and, urging the post-boys, by promises of extra pay, to make the utmost exertions, in a short time he found his master, and at once despatched him to the house where the Alderman was lying. This being effected, Charles himself drove off to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and arrived there just in time to stop Mr. Cline, who was then leaving his house to see the patient, and to inform him that Mr. Cooper was already there. This circumstance afterwards proved of essential benefit to Mr. Cooper; for Alderman Bridges, who was a most influential man, from this time became one of his most active friends, and was of much use in introducing him to city practice.

In the second instance, Charles's efforts were not attended with similar successful results. A patient who wished to undergo the performance of some slight operation, called one Sunday afternoon to see Mr. Cooper, who, however, was at Tottenham. Neverthe-

less, Charles, without informing the patient of this circumstance, promised to bring his master speedily to him, and, as usual, got into a post-chaise, and, after as short a time as possible, returned with Mr. Cooper to town. In the mean time, the patient, who had become tired of waiting, had despatched his own servant to Sir William Blizard, who, although at the time on an unfriendly footing with Mr. Cooper, without scruple came to his house and saw the patient. On their arrival, Sir William was in consultation with the patient in his library: but Mr. Cooper, notwithstanding the indignation of Charles at this fruitless termination of his labours, quietly allowed the consultation to be concluded, and in the mean time went himself into an upper room.

After Mr. Cooper's practice had greatly increased, Charles more lightly estimated the importance sometimes assumed by the messengers of those who sought his master's professional assistance. His conduct to a servant who spoke to him merely with the common demeanour of a domestic, was in no other way remarkable, than from the impatient manner in which he would urge him to deliver his message as quickly as possible; but if there were any greatness or pomposity evinced, as would occasionally occur, Charles's manner became at once altered; and he very soon made the messenger understand, that the obligation to be conferred, was upon *his* master, and not upon Mr. Cooper. He would say, "I am not at all sure that WE shall be able to attend to-day to your master's wishes, for WE

are excessively busy, and our list perfectly full for the day; but if you'll wait, I will see what can be done for you." By this manner, Charles would at once show, that he must be courted to be won, and that nothing like command on the part of the messenger would be likely to effect his object. There were few servants who did not, upon such conferences, soon begin to estimate the importance of Charles, and to urge their cause, rather from the serious character of the case requiring Mr. Cooper's attendance, than from their master's right to demand it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EMPLOYMENTS OF MR. COOPER'S SERVANT CHARLES. PROCURES ANIMALS FOR EXPERIMENTS. VARIOUS SOURCES FROM WHICH THEY WERE OBTAINED. MR. COOPER DISSECTS AN ELEPHANT IN ST. MARY AXE. MR. COOPER'S EARLY CONNEXION WITH MEN WHO PROCURED SUBJECTS FOR DISSECTION. AN ADVENTURE. ORIGIN OF THE RESURRECTIONISTS. CONDUCT OF THESE PERSONS. THE WATCHMEN OF THE SAME PERIOD. ACTIVITY OF THE RESURRECTIONISTS. METHOD OF CARRYING ON THEIR OPERATIONS. MEANS BY WHICH THE BODIES WERE TRANSFERRED FROM THE BURIAL-PLACES TO THE DISSECTING-ROOMS. AN INCIDENT. OCCASIONAL NOCTURNAL VISITS OF THE RESURRECTIONISTS TO SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S.

IT was not only in respect to the objects which I have mentioned in the preceding chapter, that Charles was rendered highly useful to Mr. Cooper; he also became a most efficient assistant to him in his more private avocations. When animals were wanted for some physiological illustration or investigation, Charles was never at a loss to invent means of procuring them; and he tells me that he has known as many as thirty dogs, besides other animals, at one time in the hay-loft,—the subjects, or about to become so, of experiments connected with the pursuits of his master.

To obtain these, Charles used to employ the servants, or any person indirectly connected with my

uncle's establishment, and to induce them to procure them, used to allow half-a-crown for each dog, as soon as it was safely housed in the premises. This temptation, I have reason to believe, led to a frequent breach of the laws relating to dog-stealing, for my uncle's old coachman has lately given me some idea of the system by which these animals were kidnapped into this scientific receptacle, by the following anecdote. He told me, that one evening, on passing down Wormwood Street, a dog looked up into his face with a friendly expression, and seemed inclined to follow him. Michael immediately felt, but from more interested motives, a reciprocal prepossession in his favour; but fearful of the dog's constancy, thought it advisable to secure him by tying around his neck a new silk handkerchief, for which he had just given seven shillings. No sooner, however, had he tied the knot, as he thought tightly enough to secure his prize, than the dog seemed to have become suspicious of the motives of his new acquaintance: for he suddenly, and not very gently, seized him by the hand. Michael, stung by the pain, immediately let go his hold, and the next moment was mortified beyond measure by his expectation of realizing half-a-crown being converted into the positive loss, not only of the dog, but also of his seven-shilling purchase.

Michael yet hoped that he could move the compassion of Mr. Cooper, so as to induce him to restore the amount of his loss, and he accordingly placed it among the items of his weekly bill. To his

disappointment, however, he informs me, that his master only laughed at him for his pains, said that he was buying money too dearly, by risking seven shillings for half-a-crown, and, instead of paying him, hoped that he would learn prudence from his experience. I could not forbear smiling at Michael's description of his chasing the dog into Bishopsgate Street, and then tracing him, as far as his eye could follow him, with the handkerchief flying about his neck, to the amusement of all the passers by.

It appears that the dogs sacrificed in my uncle's scientific researches, were not unfrequently procured in this manner. Nothing but the objects which led to these delinquencies, could offer an excuse for such proceedings.

Mr. Cooper was not always compelled to have recourse to such uncertain and irregular steps for the prosecution of his investigations; for he had entered into terms with the persons connected with the Menagerie at the Tower, to send to his house all the animals which died in that Institution. It would seem that the keepers acted fully up to the letter of my uncle's wishes, so that this Menagerie became one great source of his supply in this department.

In the course of the year 1801, an Elephant, which had been one of the principal features of the exhibition, died. Immediate notice of the circumstance was, as usual, sent to Mr. Cooper, and, notwithstanding the unwieldy bulk and enormous weight of the animal, he determined to have it

brought to his house in St. Mary Axe, where he was still living, and to dissect it. He accordingly hired a cart, in which, after a considerable degree of exertion, the Elephant was deposited, being afterwards covered with a large cloth, in order that it might attract as little notice as possible on its way. In this manner it arrived at St. Mary Axe, and the cart having been driven into the court-yard before Mr. Cooper's house, the outer iron gates were closed, and they set about attempting to get it into an outhouse, devoted to purposes of dissection. All their efforts, however, to effect this proved unavailing, and after a vast deal of trouble, they found themselves obliged to leave it lying exposed in front of the building.

During their attempts to remove the carcase into the dissecting-room, a large mass of persons collected outside the gates, and continued to watch their proceedings through the iron railing. The obstruction this crowd caused in the thoroughfare of St. Mary Axe was so great, that it was found necessary to cover up the apertures between the railings by throwing a carpet over them, and to move the body of the Elephant as far as possible out of the view of those who were passing in the street. They were enabled to do this the more effectively, inasmuch as the stabling projected before the dissecting-room, and the body being placed in the recess, was, by these means, to a great degree concealed from public view.

Mr. Cooper was thus compelled to dissect this

animal in the open air, and finding himself, from its enormous size, unable to perform the task alone, he invited several students from the Hospital to assist him. Here for some time they worked together, being barricaded from the observation of the public; nor did they cease their operations until they had examined every structure to the very bones. These latter were carefully prepared, and being articulated under Mr. Cooper's directions, formed the skeleton which, even up to the present day, may be seen in the Museum at St. Thomas's Hospital,—an existing memorial of my uncle's scientific enthusiasm.

Prolific as the Tower Menagerie was, as a source of means for occupation in his study of comparative anatomy, it does not appear to have sufficiently supplied Mr. Cooper's wants. He made an acquaintance with a Mr. Halls, a Stuffer of birds and other animals, at that time residing in the City Road, and to this person he became a source of profit, by buying all his carcases; Mr. Halls retaining the skin and other portions necessary for his peculiar purposes. Through this opportunity, the distinguishing organs of almost every Order of animals were added to Mr. Cooper's collection.

Mr. Cooper's sources of supply did not end here; he pressed all the fish and poultry markets in the district into his service. There was not an aristocratic west-end fishmonger better known at Billingsgate than his servant Charles: whom he constantly sent for the purpose of discovering and

purchasing any varieties of marine productions at this market, which appeared to him more fitted for the investigation of the Physiologist than for the gratification of the palate of the Epicure. Such choice specimens were soon put aside by the fishmongers for Mr. Cooper, and would be not unfrequently sent to his house, if Charles happened not to make his appearance at the fish stalls for a day or two.

The early part of Mr. Cooper's day was occupied in examining the various specimens which were brought to him from these sources, and in placing preparations of them in his museum. Independent of this employment, as well as of his professional duties connected with his practice and hospital avocations, my uncle had also to mix himself with a set of persons, who were at that time essential to him, as to all other teachers of Anatomy and Surgery, to enable them to perform the duties which they had undertaken. I allude to the men whose occupation was to procure Subjects for dissection, since known by the name of Resurrectionists. He found Charles of great importance as a medium of communication between these persons and himself.

These men were, at a very early period of the professional career of Mr. Cooper, brought into intimate communication with him, not only in consequence of his connexion with the Anatomical lectures at St. Thomas's Hospital, but also from the singular zeal in the study of human anatomy, which distinguished him, and induced him from the earliest periods to carry

on dissection at his own house, as well as in the public rooms allotted for the purpose in the Hospital.

The reader may remember the anecdote which was mentioned of Mr. Cooper, even while residing as a pupil in Mr. Cline's house in St. Mary Axe, dissecting in one of the upper rooms, with the detection which his position gave rise to. When my uncle took possession of this residence, in 1796, he at once set about converting one of the lower rooms into an apartment especially for dissection, according to the intimation which he expressed to his friend Mr. Saunders, in a letter already before the reader. The central part of the house fell back from the street, but it was flanked on either side by two wings, one of which consisted of the stables, and, slightly receding between them and the house, a large apartment, which had been originally intended as a warehouse. This latter part, which had been used as a place for lumber during Mr. Cline's period of residence, Mr. Cooper converted into the room for the reception of Subjects, and for his anatomical avocations.

Mr. Cooper was altogether unconscious that, as the enactments relating to dissection at that time stood, he was not only benefitting by an infringement of the laws on the part of the body-snatcher, but was himself, as the receiver after the disinterment, actually liable to be tried for misdemeanor, with a risk of incurring severe penalties. He therefore, ignorant of the hazard to which he was

thus exposing himself, made no secret of the nature of his occupations in this apartment; contenting himself merely by painting the windows so that persons outside might not observe him while engaged in his investigations. The purpose to which this room was devoted was accordingly well known in the neighbourhood; but a moderate degree of circumspection being used by the Resurrectionists who brought the Subjects to him,—for bodies for dissection, at that time, could only be obtained by means of such persons,—and a proper caution being exerted on his own part, to prevent any offence to public feeling, no notice of the circumstance was taken by the inhabitants.

On one occasion, however, an interruption to these proceedings had nearly occurred, and the presence of mind and activity of Mr. Cooper alone prevented, in all probability, a disturbance ensuing. In the winter session of the year 1801, in consequence of certain disagreements between the Hospital porters and the Resurrectionists, who were in the habit of supplying the Anatomical School,—an institution altogether distinct from the Hospital establishment,—the body-snatchers were prevented from themselves taking the Subjects into the dissecting-room. They therefore adopted the plan, of course with Mr. Cooper's sanction, of depositing them at night in the court-yard before his house in St. Mary Axe, from whence they were removed to the Hospital in a coach, under the superintendence of a man of the name of Butler, who at that time

had the dissecting-rooms at St. Thomas's under his care.

One night, a resurrectionist of the name of Harnett had deposited three hampers within the gates of Mr. Cooper's house, and Butler, having received information of the fact, as usual came with a coach to remove them. The hampers being safely packed in the vehicle, Butler got inside with them, and ordered the man to drive to St. Thomas's Hospital. All went on very well till they got into Gracechurch Street, opposite to an inn called the Coach and Gate, when the coach suddenly stopped. Butler, at once suspecting discovery, without showing himself, listened; and heard the coachman calling out to some one, that "he had got a load inside, that he didn't much like the looks of, and he didn't know whether he wasn't getting himself into trouble." This was enough for Butler, who, opening one of the doors, slipped out unseen by either of the parties, and, leaving his charge in the coach, ran back to St. Mary Axe to give an account of what had occurred.

Two hours after Butler had made Charles acquainted with this adventure, the latter was roused by the arrival of the coachman, accompanied by the night Watchman of the ward, who related to him the discovery of the bodies, told him they were then lying at the watchhouse at the foot of London Bridge, and requested to see his master. Charles, having all along feigned astonishment at the narration, replied that Mr. Cooper was in bed, and said

that it could not be of any use disturbing him, as it was impossible he could know anything about the matter, having been out at the time when it was stated to have occurred. The Watchman, however, insisted on seeing him, and after some parleying, was shown into Mr. Cooper's bedroom. Here, however, he obtained no more satisfactory explanation than he had received from Charles; for Mr. Cooper said, that the gates being open until eleven o'clock, he was plainly not answerable for every parcel that persons might choose to deposit within them, or that others might choose to remove before that hour. The Watchman accordingly left, expressing his determination of giving in an account of the whole matter to the Lord Mayor, the next morning at the earliest opportunity.

The first person, however, who had an interview with the Lord Mayor, on the following day, was Mr. Cooper himself, who being admitted to the magistrate while at breakfast, at once related to him the facts of the whole transaction; and the conversation which ensued ended by an assurance from his Lordship, who entered fully into the question, that Mr. Cooper should not be molested any further about the matter. Curiously enough, on descending the steps of the Mansion-House, my uncle met the watchman about to give in his report of the occurrence. The constable, having seen him only when in bed, did not recognise him: Mr. Cooper, however, remembered him at once, but passed on without notice.

There was nothing singular in the conduct of the Lord Mayor on this occasion. At the period when the event occurred, magistrates, fearful of obstructing the progress of medical education, and of unnecessarily exciting and exasperating popular feeling and prejudice, always avoided taking cognizance of the reception of Subjects by surgeons for purposes of dissection, unless attended with some flagrant breach of propriety; and hence arose the prevailing opinion among the members of the profession, that they were legally justified in such proceedings.

When Mr. Cooper commenced lecturing at St. Thomas's, the persons who provided the Subjects had no distinct denomination, nor indeed was their existence known to the public generally. There were comparatively very few students in anatomy, and not more than three or four lecturers on the science in London; so that the limited demand for Subjects was easily supplied. The persons who employed themselves in obtaining the bodies were proportionably few, and being careful to transact their business only at night, were not brought into notoriety.

Some years afterwards, when the entries to the Lectures at St. Thomas's had increased sixfold, and both anatomical teachers and students generally had become much more numerous in the Metropolis, there arose the necessity for a greater supply of Subjects, and the number of Resurrectionists became proportionably enlarged. Several circumstances contributed, at various times, to bring

the practice of disinterment before the notice of the public, who now began to exercise a greatly-increased degree of vigilance over the places of sepulture, and in cases of detection, caused the offenders oftentimes to be severely punished. The prices demanded for Subjects became exorbitantly increased; and the procurers, from the obloquy and disgust which was attached to their proceedings, and the certainty of their being treated as criminals, if caught while engaged in them, sank down to men of the lowest, and most degraded character; men, who for the sake of gain, if they could not obtain their objects by the ordinary method of disinterment, would not hesitate to resort to the most unwarrantable contrivances, or even criminal acts, to effect their purpose. Thus sprang up the set of Resurrectionists, whose acts of outrage, some few years ago, so much attracted public attention and indignation.

The anecdotes which my uncle used to relate of the characters and adventures of these men, and the circumstance of his having been already more than once brought before the notice of the public in association with their transactions, would instigate me to take especial notice of them in this work. But a higher motive actuates me to furnish some record of these notorious characters; for their race having ceased, thank Heaven! with the necessity for their occupation, their era now forms an important page in the history of surgical science, and of the abuses to which society in this country has been at various times exposed: a page, not merely calculated

to gratify the curiosity which the extraordinary nature of their occupation, and the mysteries enveloping its practice, have at all times excited in the public mind; but worthy of study and investigation on the part, no less of the man of science, than of the moral and political philosopher.

I will, therefore, furnish a brief sketch of the methods by which these men contrived so secretly and for so long a time, to carry on their revolting occupation, and afterwards give some account of their characters and personal adventures. Their history will, at the same time, show the important power which, from the nature of the laws and other circumstances connected with dissection, they possessed of affecting the advancement, if not the very existence, of the schools established in this country, for the cultivation of medical science.

At the period we have now come to in this history, about the year 1800, and until within a few years since, the Resurrectionists, (or as they were as frequently called, the body-snatchers,) were almost the only source on which the English teachers of anatomy could depend for their supply of Subjects. They were persons, generally speaking, of the worst description of character, perhaps second to none, if we except the Watchmen of that time, who were set to guard the various burial-grounds in the metropolis and its vicinity,—all of whom were in the regular habit of receiving a certain allowance or per centage out of the sums obtained by the Resurrectionists.

The public were, for many years, aware of

churchyards being robbed; and it was, at the time I allude to, very commonly the custom for the friends of deceased persons, suspicious of the regular Watchmen, themselves to agree to sit up by their graves, until the period was past in which the body was likely to be removed. The feelings, however, excited by the nature of the occupation, their situation, and the time of night when it was chiefly required, seldom allowed these private Watchers to remain all the requisite period; but even in cases where the utmost vigilance was exerted, it was generally insufficient to prevent the Resurrectionists from carrying their purpose into effect: for so skilful were they in their mode of working, and so much assisted by all the underlings of the parish burial-ground, that half an hour's absence or slumber on the part of the perhaps worn-out mourner, was often sufficient for the defeat of his object.

Occasionally the Resurrection-men themselves were employed by persons somewhat acquainted with their proceedings, to protect the bodies from disturbance,—their employers expecting, that as poachers notoriously make the best game-keepers, these men would of course make the best body-guards: but although they were often influenced, by the remuneration they received, to undertake to thwart the schemes of their companions, they were generally outwitted by some among them more active or cunning than themselves.

An instance of this which occurred within my own knowledge, offers an example of how little

trust was to be placed even in these men, when it was an especial object for any other Resurrectionists to elude their vigilance. The Governors of a large Hospital in London, very anxiously wished that the burial-ground connected with the institution should be maintained strictly inviolate, in order that such hospital patients as were conscious of approaching dissolution, might know that in that ground their bodies would remain undisturbed; a conviction which, strange to say, often produced on their minds a state of resigned feeling, which could hardly have been anticipated as the effect of such a circumstance. It was well known at the time, that from the influence produced by this regulation, many patients requested that their bodies might be examined after death, because they thus secured a right of being buried at the expense of the hospital, a confidence which was never permitted to be abused.

For the especial protection of this ground a well known and confidential Resurrectionist was handsomely paid to take up his nightly station in a watch-box on the premises during the dissecting season. For some months, his presence effected the desired object; for he resisted every attempt made to bribe him or elude his observation. At last, however, upon the occasion of a body being buried there, of peculiar professional interest, one of the Surgeons of the very Institution, extremely anxious to possess this treasure, sent some men to obtain it, having offered an unusually large reward,

as an inducement for them to exert all their ingenuity on the occasion. They accordingly tried all the ordinary methods for acquiring possession of the prize, but were invariably baffled,—until one evening, when they diverted the attention of the Watchman as to their object, by associating him with themselves in some other undertaking connected with exhumation. While thus occupied, they succeeded in making him so drunk, that the very same night, while he was on his post at the burial-ground alluded to, and close to the object of his especial vigilance, they worked so successfully as to carry off the prize, he being totally unconscious of the affair until the following morning.

The fact of this rapidity in their operations was well known, but the means by which it was accomplished was one of the mysteries of their occupation. This was never fathomed by the public, and curiously enough, no accidental circumstance occurred to furnish the solution. The value of this secret, which, had it been discovered, must have led to serious impediments in the exercise of their business, was fully appreciated by the Resurrectionists, and so closely was the knowledge of it kept among themselves, so careful were they to remove all traces of their mode of working after the completion of their task, that not only the public, but even the members of the medical profession, with very few exceptions, were kept in ignorance regarding it. It was generally supposed, that the body-snatcher, in exhuming a body, first proceeded, as a novice would

have done, to remove all the earth with which the grave had been recently filled, and having at length arrived at the coffin, that he then with proper implements forced off the lid, and so removed the body: such a description of this proceeding has already been given to the public by one of the most popular and talented, but, in this case at least, fictitious authors of the day*.

This mode of procedure would have necessarily occupied a considerable space of time, and rendered the body-snatchers proportionably more liable to detection. Usually, therefore, to avoid this, they only cleared away the earth above the head of the coffin, taking care to leave that which covered the other portions as far as possible undisturbed. As soon as about one-third of the coffin was thus exposed, they forced a very strong crow-bar, made of a peculiar form for the purpose, into the crevice between the extreme body of the coffin and the lid, which latter, by using the lever as one of the first order, they generally pressed up, without much difficulty. It usually happened, at this stage of the proceedings, that the superincumbent weight of the earth on the other portion of the coffin-lid caused it to be snapped across at a distance of about one third of its length from the fulcrum of the lever. As soon as this had taken place, the body was drawn out, the death gear removed from it, and replaced in the coffin, and finally, the body tied up and placed

* See the *Diary of a late Physician*, vol. i., chap. xvi., on "Grave Doings."

in its receptacle to be conveyed to its destination. There was seldom any difficulty in extricating a body by these means, unless the lid happened to be sufficiently strong to resist the force of the lever; this, however, scarcely ever occurred in the coffins of the poorer classes, to which the operations of the Resurrectionists were usually directed.

It sometimes happened, more especially when any epidemic had been committing extensive ravages in the population, that three or four coffins would be placed one upon another in the same grave, and at the same time. Under these circumstances, if the Resurrectionist wished to extract all the bodies, it was absolutely necessary that the whole of the newly piled earth should be thrown out from the grave, the body removed, and the coffin taken up. Each coffin was thus raised in succession, and afterwards again deposited in the same order in which it had previously lain, and finally, the earth was carefully restored with every possible exactitude, to accord with the form it had presented before its disturbance.

The extent to which this precaution was carried, and the manner of accomplishing it, formed the chief point of distinction between what was termed a good or slovenly workman, and, indeed, was one of the circumstances on which they principally depended for security against detection, and the consequent means of continuing their avocation. So much attention was devoted to this circumstance, that the practised eye of an accomplished Resurrectionist could, at a glance, detect signs about a grave,

indicating that means had been adopted to discover any attempt at exhumation. A bit of stick, an oyster shell, a stone, or a planted flower, were marks which were recognised at once, and noted by the practised body-snatchers; and, after their operations, these were so perfectly restored to their former position, as to deceive the most anxious visitor to the grave, and, at the first glance, to assure him that all had remained quiet and undisturbed. The necessity for all this extreme caution, superadded to the immense physical force and hardihood required in exhuming a body, made the rapidity with which their work was effected, even when they could adopt the ordinary method of proceeding just described, still more surprising. I was once told by a Resurrectionist, that he had taken two bodies from separate graves of considerable depth, and had restored the coffins, and the earth itself, to their former position, in the short space of an hour and a half,—a statement which many circumstances led me to credit. Another man proved to me that he had completed the exhumation of a body in a quarter of an hour; but in this instance the grave was extremely shallow, and the earth loose and without stones. This latter circumstance was always important, not merely as it affected the facility of excavating the grave, but also as contributing to the safety of the Resurrectionists, who were enabled to work in perfect silence in such ground. In gravelly soils they had a peculiar mode of flinging out the earth, in order to prevent the rattling of the stones along the iron spade. Although

this rapidity of execution depended more upon method than on force, yet the exhumator first alluded to told me that, accustomed as he had been to hard labour all his life, he had no idea of any exertion comparable with that which was required in these "jobs," as he called them.

Another motive for their strict secresy as to their method of working, was, that their band, which consisted of considerably fewer persons than was generally supposed, might not be disturbed by the intrusive entry of fresh men, who, in the hope of obtaining their share of the great profit derived from such occupation, were not unfrequently attempting to invade what the Resurrectionists almost thought to be their exclusive right of trade. As, on the one hand, it was the object of the party seeking admission into this business, to discover the peculiar method by which the initiated accomplished their objects so rapidly, and, in proportion, with diminished risk; so, on the other hand, it was the object of the monopolizers, by throwing a mystery around their mode of working, to prevent this discovery taking place; and further to secure themselves against such an event, they would endeavour to set the new comers on a wrong scent, and so lead to their detection.

Their plan of working was once described to me by a person, not a Resurrectionist, but one who was in constant communication with these men, in the following manner. He fancied he had found out their secret, but had, no doubt, been deceived by

some of them purposely. He began by saying, plausibly enough, that it was evident the body could not be removed in the direct manner, by shovelling off the whole of the mould above it; for if the coffin were any considerable depth in the ground, or were overlaid by one or two others, or if the grave were covered by a heavy stone, or carefully turfed in, the expense of time and labour, in getting out the body and restoring the grave to its former appearance and condition, would be so great, as well as the risk of detection, that it could not be recompensed by the amount of payment, large as it was, which the Resurrectionist subsequently received for his exertions. The plan which, I was then informed, they pursued, was the following, which, indeed, at first sight, appears a much more efficacious and ready method of obtaining their object.

Commencing their operations towards the head of the coffin, in a portion of the earth below the level of the mound, or raised portion of the grave, they rapidly made an excavation of such a diameter as only just to admit of the throwing out of the mould. As soon as the head of the coffin was arrived at, and exposed, it was at once prized out; and that there was not much difficulty in doing this was shown to me, from the circumstance that the dependence for the security of the body was chiefly placed in the coffin-lid, to the fastenings of which the attention of the undertaker was usually in particular directed. At this stage of the proceeding, however, a difficulty at once suggested itself, which

evidently an uninitiated person would, in all probability, have failed to surmount; for, as is well known, the head of a coffin, as ordinarily constructed, is one of its narrowest portions, and never of such a width as to admit, in a direct manner, of the exit of the chest and shoulders of the corpse within. My informant, however, overcame this impediment at once, by describing the Resurrectionist as rounding the shoulders well over the chest, and then, in drawing out the body, giving to it such a general turn as to be enabled at once to extract it in the diagonal of the opening already described. By these means, I was informed, two or more Subjects could be extracted, without much increase of time or labour, out of one and the same grave.

Without giving myself much trouble in consideration of this account, I for a long time believed it to be the method pursued by them; but some time afterwards, when there was no necessity any longer for keeping the true plan a secret, I described it to a person who had been one of the most active among these people. He at once showed me its incorrectness: "Oh!" said he, "that would never do; why, don't you see, sir, we should be working in old instead of the new soft ground? Besides, it would be detected at once, for we could not do it without lengthening the grave." He mentioned to me other obstacles, and afterwards related to me the usual way of proceeding, which I have already described.

When once the body was removed from the

burial-place, there was ordinarily no danger of detection, for the gravedigger and watchmen were not likely to speak of a delinquency which they themselves had been accessory to; and thus at this period many a tear was dropped upon a grave bereft of the object whom the mourner supposed to be mouldering beneath the sod at his feet, and the memory of whom still pained his recollection.

As soon as the body was raised, it was deposited in an ordinary sized sack, (another part of the work which required a specific rule of management, on account of the difference in length which generally existed between the Subject and its receptacle,) and then carried to a hackney-coach, or spring-cart, the latter in the Metropolis being the more usual vehicle which was hired to receive it.

When the bodies were raised in the neighbourhood of provincial towns, they were invariably transmitted to the Metropolis in such cases or packages, as the staple manufactures or commodities of the place were usually conveyed in; thus, occasionally, they arrived in hat-crates, in the casks in which hardwares are usually sent, &c.

The means described for removing bodies from the London burial-places were not invariably called into requisition; for some of the men used to boast of "working more independent." On such occasions, the Subject having been raised in the usual way, instead of being deposited in the sack, was laid on a large square green-baize cloth, the four corners of which were tied together, so as to inclose the

body. The prize was not conveyed to any dissecting room that night, but was generally deposited in some half-built house, or other convenient hiding-place, until the following day. The *independent* body-snatcher would then, habited as a porter, swing the load over his shoulders, and often, even in broad daylight, carry it to its place of destination through the most crowded streets of the Metropolis.

At other times, if any discovery had lately been made, and the public newspapers were rife with the description of some scene resulting from detection, these depredators were afraid to carry on their work in their ordinary way, and then some of the students used to receive the bodies at their own houses, and ultimately themselves convey them in a hackney-coach to the dissecting-rooms. Though every precaution was usually adopted, the coachmen on these occasions generally became fully aware of the nature of their load, and would often avail themselves of this knowledge to exact a larger remuneration for their service than they otherwise could have claimed.

Some awkward predicaments occasionally resulted from the means adopted by the coachmen to insure the payment of their exorbitant demands under these circumstances. I knew a pupil, who was conveying a body by coach to his Hospital from another and better-supplied School, astonished by suddenly finding himself in front of the Bow Street police-office, when the coachman, tapping at the front window, said to his affrighted employed

within, "Sir, my fare to So-and-So is a guinea, unless you wish to be put down here." The reply, without any hesitation, was, "Quite right, my man, drive on."

No hour of the night seemed to be considered by the Resurrectionists as sacred from disturbance to those from whom they believed they could by any means obtain assistance in their vocation. It now and then happened, while I was living with my uncle in New Street, that we were disturbed at three or four o'clock in the morning by some of these men rapping at the door, and telling the servant they must see Mr. Cooper directly. On these occasions I had to obey the summons, and their usual story was, that they knew of three or four bodies, which they could "work" immediately if they had but such a sum, naming sometimes ten or sometimes even twenty pounds, to bribe the gravedigger and watchman; they at the same time swearing, and calling down imprecations on themselves if they did not faithfully appropriate the bodies to the promised School.

When this scheme was first put into practice, they sometimes succeeded in obtaining their demands: but it was soon found that either the supply was taken to some other School, or, if to the one promised, that they would take care so to manage, as to receive the full price from the superintendent of the dissecting-room—especially omitting all allusion to the money which had been advanced.

These circumstances, to which Surgeons were

unavoidably rendered victims, perhaps may be considered as some of the principal causes which have prevented the members of the Medical profession maintaining that rank in society of which the usefulness of their purpose rendered them justly worthy. The very Government itself, as is well known, had to sustain some degree of odium, from the necessity which induced its members to shut their eyes to the transactions of the Resurrectionists, for, without their passive permission of these transgressions, England in a short time would have stood lowest among European nations as to the condition of her Medical science.

CHAPTER XIX.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE WINTER SUPPLY OF SUBJECTS FOR DISSECTION. DEPOSIT FEES. MURPHY'S STRATAGEMS. PAINFUL POSITION OF THE TEACHERS OF ANATOMY. INDEPENDENCE OF THE RESURRECTIONISTS. THEIR RIVALRY. DISTURBANCE AT HOLYWELL MOUNT. INCREASED VIGILANCE OF THE PUBLIC. DANGERS TO WHICH THE MEN BECAME EXPOSED. OTHER MEANS RESORTED TO. ANECDOTES. COMMUNICATION FROM MR. BROOKES TO SIR ASTLEY COOPER. ANECDOTE. EXPENSES OF SURGEONS. FORTUNES OF THE EXHUMATORS. OFFERS OF PERSONS TO SIR ASTLEY COOPER TO DISPOSE OF THEIR OWN BODIES. COLLATERAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE EXHUMATORS. MESSENGER FROM MY UNCLE TO ME WHEN IN SPAIN. HIS BUSINESS, AND ITS SUCCESS. OCCASIONAL USES MADE OF THE EXHUMATORS BY SIR ASTLEY COOPER. GOVERNMENT ACQUAINTED WITH THEIR PROCEEDINGS. INFLUENCE OF SIR ASTLEY COOPER. THE ANATOMY ACT.

AT the commencement of a new session at the Hospitals, when each Professor was fully engaged about the particular department in which he was a teacher, and everything augured favourably for a successful campaign, Crouch or Murphy, who were at the head of the Resurrectionists of their respective periods, would be seen flitting about the dissecting-room, bowing complacently to the lecturers, and either by a proffered smile inviting confidence, or perhaps merely by silence leading the anatomical

teacher to believe that his School was to be the chosen scene of his traffic during the coming winter. Each of these parties was shy in commencing conversation on the matters which brought them together; and, indeed, it generally happened that the topic was broached between the Resurrectionist and the superintendent of the dissecting-room.

At these meetings, some such kind of dialogue as the following usually occurred:—"Well, Mr. —— what does Sir —— mean to stand this season?" "Oh! I don't know, Murphy—whatever's fair. What will you take this morning?" "Nothing, I thank you, Mr. ——, but I don't mean to work this season without I get ten guineas a Subject." "Oh, indeed! well, we don't mean to give more than eight!" "Then you may go and tell Sir ——," would be the rejoinder, "that he may raise his own Subjects; for not one will he get from us:"—and so for three weeks or a month, frequently, would all conference with Murphy end. In the interim, perhaps, some new men would be employed, but it generally happened that their efforts were crushed in the commencement, they being either detected by police through means of information from the old Resurrectionists, bribed off, or in some other manner hindered from the prosecution of their endeavours. So this having failed, Murphy would come back again, and say, "Come, you can't get on without us —give us fifty pounds down, and nine guineas a body, and we will work for your School, and no other." This arrangement was often acceded to,

though usually without the slightest expectation of the promise of exclusiveness in the supply being attended to a week after it was made.

The plan of demanding an opening fee at the commencement of a session, was almost invariably adopted by the Resurrectionists before entering into an agreement to supply a particular School throughout the season. Murphy, when he had become distinguished in the "profession," always insisted on receiving this douceur, ostensibly for the purpose of making the watchmen, whose assistance he required in his undertakings, what he termed "all right." This, however, was a mere pretence, for these people were never paid in this manner, but received a certain sum for each Subject as it was raised: the advantages of this arrangement to the Resurrectionists are sufficiently obvious. I have been informed by several of the body-snatchers who were dependent in some measure on Murphy, that he made a considerable profit by these entrance fees; for he obtained four or five such sums, as he had no scruples about the number of Schools he would promise to supply exclusively, and considering them as perquisites peculiarly his own, very seldom gave any share of them to his companions.

These exactions were usually opposed by the Surgeons, knowing as they did how little dependence could be placed on the promises which were made by the Resurrectionists of future supplies in consideration for the sum to be advanced. Sometimes in the attempt to overcome this opposition of the

teachers, and at the same time to gain the price for which they were contending, the Resurrectionists, but especially Murphy, adopted manœuvres of a most ingenious and amusing description. I know of several instances of this nature; but perhaps the trick I am about to mention, will furnish a sufficient example of the devices occasionally resorted to for these purposes.

Just prior to the opening of the session of the year ——, Murphy had an interview with Mr. ——, now one of the Surgeons, but at that time a Lecturer on anatomy at a large hospital in London, relative to the supply of Subjects for the School, during the ensuing winter; and in the course of his conversation said, that he must have twenty guineas before he could send in a single body. The usual excuse for his need of such a sum was given, and, as usual, disputed. At last, Mr. ——, thinking to test the correctness of his plea, asked if he himself could not make the arrangements with some of these watchmen. "Certainly, if you please," instantly returned Murphy: "it does not matter to me who does it, as long as they are made right." "Well, now, who do you think is the most likely man to do it for you?" asked Mr. ——. "I had intended going to ——," said Murphy, naming a church-yard not far from Holborn; "there is only one watchman there, and the place is convenient enough; but I doubt *you* will find it not so easy a matter as you think." Notwithstanding this suspicion, it was settled that Murphy and Mr. S——, one of the

Demonstrators at the Hospital, should the same day call on the grave-digger mentioned by Murphy, and together attempt to win him over to accede to their wishes. At Murphy's suggestion, the visit was deferred until the dusk of the evening, as in the day-time, he said, it would attract the observation of the man's neighbours, and might lead to mischief.

The true motive, however, for this delay, was Murphy's wish for an opportunity of seeing the grave-digger,—who in reality was one of his friends, and already in his employ,—in order to prepare him for the visit, and to make the arrangements which he purposed for carrying out his scheme.

Singularly enough, no suspicion of this crossed the minds of Murphy's employers; and, accordingly, Mr. S—— met Murphy at the appointed time, and getting into a coach with him soon arrived near the place of destination. Turning into a narrow court, they stopped at the door of a small house, which Murphy whispered was the end of their journey. He had previously informed Mr. S—— that the man was living alone with his wife, and rented but a single apartment, and had not increased Mr. S——'s predilection for the business, by giving him a series of precautions as to how he was to act, and by informing him that the grave-digger was a desperate fellow to deal with, and had in several instances fired at men whom he had caught in the act of robbing his ground.

On knocking, they were answered by a woman

from within, who, learning that they wished to speak to her husband, replied, without opening the door, that he was in bed, and could not see any one. This difficulty was soon got over, for the man himself shortly afterwards called out that it was his time to get up, and desired the persons to be admitted. They accordingly entered, and the man, who was sitting on the side of his bed, from which it appeared he had just risen, beckoned Mr. S—— to a seat by the fire, immediately facing himself. Murphy took a chair near the foot of the bed. It was some time before, to all appearance, either of them could summon up resolution to commence their story; but at length, with the utmost hesitation and diffidence, Murphy, at the request of his companion, broke the ice, and then gradually explained the object of their visit.

The grave-digger listened to it all with scarcely a single interruption, and seemingly with the most profound consideration. At last, he sternly though quietly said, "And this is really what you have come to me about?" Mr. S—— assented. "You are sure of it?" he continued, in the same measured tone of cool surprise, while at the same time, stooping down, he deliberately drew from under the bed a huge horse-pistol, the muzzle of which he caused to stare directly in Mr. S——'s face. Mr. S—— instinctively drew back; but before he could make any remark, was assailed with a volley of oaths and abuse, so fearfully violent, and such threatenings of vengeance if he dared to approach the ground under

his care,—the pistol all the time, which the fellow swore was loaded, shaking in his hand, exactly opposite to the trembling visitor's head,—that perhaps Mr. S—— had never before experienced a degree of relief from terror and alarm to be compared with that which he felt when he again found himself with Murphy among the crowd of people on Holborn Hill.

The following morning, Murphy was again at the Hospital with Mr. ——, who told him he had had a full account of their visit. He said he was certain such extreme violence must be peculiar to that individual, and asked Murphy if he knew of no other man more likely to suit their purpose. Murphy was prepared, and mentioned another of his allies, the superintendent of a chapel in St. George's in the East, whose residence was attached to, and, indeed, opened into the burial-ground. Some little persuasion was necessary to induce Mr. S—— to enter upon such an undertaking again; but his objections having been removed, they repaired to the place as before in the evening. Mr. S—— this time declined to go into the house, but remained walking on the opposite side of the road, while Murphy went over to tell the sexton that a gentleman wished to speak with him.

Mr. S—— was soon joined by a demure, respectable looking person, and Murphy having introduced them to each other, fell back behind. They had not been many minutes together, when a repetition of the scene of the preceding evening occurred,

modified only by the different positions of the parties. Murphy permitted poor Mr. S—— to be subjected to the virulent objurgations of his friend the sexton for a short time, and then sidling up to him, as if in a state of alarm, hurried him away: followed, however, for some distance by the sexton, expressing the greatest anxiety to meet with a watchman, and regretting only that he had not got the "rascals safe in his own premises."

This second adventure completely satisfied Mr. S—— of the folly of his attempting to form any alliance with sextons and grave-diggers, and Mr. —— supposing it sufficiently evident from the results of these trials, that nothing but the low cunning of the resurrectionists was able to cope with such obstinacy, paid Murphy the sum he demanded, and left him to settle the matter as he found most convenient.

Sometimes the exhumators, to induce the teachers of a particular School to accede to their exorbitant terms, would threaten to supply a rival School entirely, and thus render dissatisfied the pupils of the institution which resisted their demands. It was from this cause principally, that the well known establishment of Mr. Grainger at one time flourished in opposition to the older institutions with such unparalleled success. The result of this, however, was to render the expenses so considerable, as to leave but little remuneration for the arduous duties of the teachers; for, although they were well supplied, it was at a charge but

little less than the sum which was refused by the lecturers of the other Schools.

The public, even with this narration, can form but an inadequate idea of the harassing situation in which the teachers were placed, in consequence of the deficiency in the supply of Subjects; on the one hand, from witnessing the want of occupation of their class in the most essential branch of their studies, and their consequent liability to fall into habits of idleness and dissipation: on the other hand, from the discontent which existed among the pupils themselves on these occasions. Meetings were held by the students, deputations sent up to the heads of the institution to complain of the inefficient state of the School, anonymous letters written, sometimes expressing threats from the pupils, to leave *en masse* for the Continent, sometimes asserting that their teacher was not equally active with the head of some other anatomical class, or sometimes even insinuating that the deficiency originated from motives of parsimony, or from obstinacy in withstanding the offers of their suppliers, rather than from any exorbitance in the prices asked by the Resurrectionists. That such accusations were unfounded, will appear from the well known fact that the teachers were continually in the habit of giving out of their own pockets a much larger sum for each body, than the pupils paid for them, to whom they were afterwards distributed for dissection.

Latterly, one source of the independent conduct of these men towards the teachers of anatomy in

London, was the circumstance of their being able to dispose of any Subjects which they might raise, to the schools of medicine attached to the provincial Hospitals. Thus, at various periods Subjects were sent to Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, &c., by the London Resurrectionists. This demand usually arose out of some increased vigilance on the part of the inhabitants of the city or the neighbouring villages, in consequence of some discovery and public exposure of the practice of exhumation. At one time, in consequence of the difficulties and obstructions met with in the neighbourhood of London, Liverpool became one of the chief sources of its supply of bodies for dissection, and soon, from the comparative facility with which the Resurrectionists found they could carry out their objects, this town became the centre of a most extensive traffic in Subjects, not only with the Metropolis, but also with Glasgow and Edinburgh. These transactions were not discovered for some time, but when at last they were detected, the inhabitants became extremely excited, and so vigilant, that not only was the traffic with the above-mentioned places arrested, but a supply could not be obtained for the pupils connected with the anatomical establishments of the city itself. Then in turn London, conjointly with Dublin, became the means of supply to Liverpool.

At another period, the exhumators connected with the London Schools had suddenly the opportunity of disposing of a number of Subjects to the

teachers of anatomy at Edinburgh. This circumstance, and the effect it produced on the supply to the lecturers of the Metropolis, is thus alluded to in the Report of a Committee appointed by the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh in the year 1828, to inquire into the state and opportunities of education with regard to Practical Anatomy in that city.

"When the study of Practical Anatomy was followed by students here only to a limited extent, the small number of Subjects required was procured in Edinburgh and its vicinity, and the price was three or four guineas. As the school of anatomy extended, and a greater supply was required, the violation of churchyards was more frequently detected, and the feelings of the populace were often irritated by the audacity, carelessness, and recklessness of the degraded and ungovernable class of men who are necessarily employed in the occupation of procuring bodies, and whose numbers were considerably increased. These circumstances roused the feelings of the people, and increased their vigilance to prevent these outrages, by which the supply here was rendered much more difficult and deficient.

"Afterwards for some time a large supply was obtained from London, though at a considerable expense. The Committee have reason to believe, that this new demand for bodies had the effect of diminishing, in some degree, the supply of the anatomical teachers in London; it diminished, to a certain extent, the dependence of the body-snatchers

on these teachers, and dissensions arose between them and among the body-snatchers themselves. The difficulties of procuring Subjects in London, were by this time much increased; a stop was put almost entirely to this source of supply to Edinburgh, and obstacles were produced to the supply of the London School, the effects of which your Committee believe have not yet ceased to operate.

"Lately, the supply of Subjects in Edinburgh has been procured chiefly from a distance, and a considerable part of it from Ireland, where, it seems, bodies can be procured more easily, and with less outrage to the public feeling, than in other parts of the empire. It has been stated, that this new demand for bodies has had the effect of raising the price of them in the Dublin Schools, but your Committee believe, from all they have ever heard, that if no illiberal interference be interposed, the supply required from Dublin by other Schools might go on without any real injury being inflicted on the anatomical school there. If attempts be made to interrupt it, considerable temporary inconvenience, it is probable, will necessarily be produced in Edinburgh; and your Committee are convinced that the facilities of obtaining bodies in Dublin itself will also be most materially diminished and impeded.

"It is obvious, that in the present state of the law, and of popular feeling, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the supply required in Edinburgh from the town or the vicinity. The obstacles do not now arise from a prejudice against

opening dead bodies; for this has rapidly declined, and permission can in general be obtained by medical men, without difficulty, to inspect bodies for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of disease. It seems to arise from those feelings of family and domestic attachment which exist in a remarkable degree in this country, being continued to the objects of them even after death. Hence those feelings of respect and care for the remains of relations and connections, and of horror at their being disturbed or treated with indignity, which so universally prevail, and are evinced in many of the customs and habits, and even, it is believed, in some of the laws of the country. They have led to the most jealous precautions against the practices of disinterment, which are often taken with much trouble, and at a considerable expense, and without much regard to the legality of the means which are employed for the purpose."

It was usual for two or three of the men who were at the head of this strange but profitable avocation, to work for certain particular schools of anatomy, and systematically to avoid all interference with each other. Occasionally, however, this amicable arrangement was interfered with, and especially at times when a great scarcity of Subjects arose, which not unfrequently occurred, either from the difficulty in procuring them,—from a sudden increase of vigilance on the part of the public,—from the healthy state of the Metropolis, or, in certain seasons, from the immense number in demand.

Upon such occasions, the most greedy of the party would ask exorbitant sums; and twenty pounds I have known the price demanded, and in some few instances given, for a single Subject.

Usually such sums were resisted by the teachers of anatomy, until at last one of the other leaders would secretly supply the School at a smaller price. This circumstance would soon be discovered by his rival, as these men, by a kind of freemasonry, were readily admitted into every dissecting-room in the Metropolis. In revenge, he would bribe one of the underlings of the opposite party to tell him where the bodies were raised; and then inform against every one connected with that particular theft, so preventing any further supply from the same source, and most probably, at the same time, get his rival some months' imprisonment.

A jealousy also occasionally arose between these opposite sets of Resurrectionists, in consequence of one party being in possession of a prolific source of supply, which they kept wholly to themselves, refusing any participation in the profits to the other men who were at the time unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain Subjects. I have lately, through the medium of an old Resurrectionist, become acquainted with the history of an occurrence, which caused a considerable sensation at the time it happened, and will exemplify their conduct towards each other under such circumstances.

Two well-known Resurrectionists, Murphy, and another, to whom, as he is still alive, and bearing a

respectable character, I give the assumed name of Patrick, had been fortunate enough to get a plentiful supply from a private burial-place near Holywell Mount, the property of two old women, whose premises indeed formed the entrance to it. The exhumators had gained access by forming an acquaintance with a man of the name of Whackett, who had the sole superintendence of the ground, and officiated moreover as gravedigger. This man was in the habit of remaining on duty until sunset; and used, upon his departure, to leave the bolt of the gate undrawn, which, although still locked, offered no impediment to the entrance of his friends, as he had supplied them with a key. Here Murphy and Patrick used to pay their nocturnal visits, and going over the ground looked for certain signs which their accomplice always left to point out the situation, of the particular bodies which he considered might be removed with the least fear of detection. There was an especial necessity, in this case, for such marks to direct their operations, as the graves were not here elevated into mounds as ordinarily. With these facilities, they for some time carried on a most successful trade, and frequently brought away as many as six bodies in one night. This prosperity excited the astonishment and envy of their rivals in business as to the source from whence they obtained their supply; and some of them determined to adopt means either to participate in their harvest, or to discover and destroy the source from whence they reaped such benefits.

Two of the exhumators, named Holliss and Vaughan, at last got scent of the scene of action, and as soon as they had discovered it, determined to make Whackett admit them "to a share of the job," or threaten to expose the whole transaction. The next day, accordingly, they had an interview with Whackett, for the purpose of effecting their object, and tried to deceive him by saying, that although he was not aware of it, they were sharers with Murphy in the profits derived from his ground. Whackett stood aloof, and obstinately resisted every attempt at explanation. Notwithstanding this opposition, they persisted in their importunity, and at last enraged Whackett so much, that he ran across the street to a public-house which was full of labourers, and pointing through the windows to the two men, called out, "Those fellows are body-snatchers, and are come here for the purpose of bribing me to let them raise from my ground." This was enough: the whole party rushed out of the house, impressed with a common determination to inflict instant punishment upon these objects of their abhorrence. Vaughan and Holliss saw them approach, and guessing their intention, ran off, and outstripping them by their speed, altogether escaped.

The spirit of retaliation urged the enraged and disappointed Vaughan and Holliss to seek revenge, and they went directly to a police-office where a magistrate was at the moment sitting, and, in the midst of a crowded court, informed him, in a loud tone, that if he sent officers to Holywell Mount

burial-ground, they would find every grave despoiled of its dead; the grave-digger, Whackett, having sold them to the body-snatchers. The people present simultaneously caught an impulsive feeling of indignation, and hastened towards the spot. As they went along, their numbers increased, and having arrived at the burial-ground, they broke open the gates, and commenced digging up the graves. Whackett's escape was prevented, and he was made to witness the extent of his own depredations, until the mob, becoming more and more enraged as the empty coffins were severally exposed, suddenly seized him, threw him into one of the deepest excavations, and began shovelling the earth over him. My informant told me he would certainly have been buried alive, had it not been for the activity of some of the constables, who had followed the people from the office. The excitement was so great that the mob went to Whackett's house, where they destroyed every article of his furniture, seized his wife and children, whom they dragged through a stagnant pool in the neighbourhood, and then proceeded to break the windows in the house of the two old women who were the owners of the property, although they were perfectly innocent, even of any connivance with the parties implicated in the transaction.

Thus Murphy was entirely deprived of this source of abundant supply, and he determined to take the earliest opportunity of wreaking his revenge on the informants. It was nearly a twelvemonth

before an opportunity offered itself; but he had not even then forgotten the affair at Holywell Mount, or lost his desire for revenging it. Vaughan was at this time secreting himself, having committed some offence, and the police were in search of him. Murphy knew of this affair, and having discovered Vaughan's hiding-place, immediately wrote a letter mentioning it to one of the sitting magistrates. In consequence of this information, Vaughan was taken, and he was soon afterwards committed to Maidstone Gaol, where he remained confined for a period of two years.

Each discovery of such outrages as we have described led, as may naturally be supposed, to an increased degree of watchfulness on the part of the public; so that many of the burial-grounds to which free access could once be obtained, at length became accessible only with considerable danger. On account of such public excitement, the resurrection-men were obliged to act with infinitely greater caution than they had hitherto done; and the sums of money necessary to bribe the greater force employed as watchmen, prevented any persons being engaged in the business, who were not well furnished with means of buying over the additional guard. Almost all the new men were thus thrown out of employ.

The more experienced, however, or the "regulars," continued their occupation, but they were exposed to a great increase of danger, and were frequently so roughly handled, that they became more and more fearful, the supply of bodies in

proportion to the demand less efficient, and the price required for them more and more exorbitant. It was no unfrequent occurrence for them to be severely beaten, or perhaps fired at or captured by the guards, who were greatly increased in numbers, and in many cases both honest and vigilant, and thus every man employed in the business became liable to be shot, or at any rate to suffer a loss of liberty, often for a lengthened period of time. They were not so often wounded, however, as might have been expected, the alarm of the persons using the fire-arms seldom allowing them to take a very cool aim. A man, in whose veracity I had much confidence, told me he had been fired at five several times, on each occasion without any injury whatever. Murphy, in scaling the wall at Bethnal Green church-yard, had once a very narrow escape, for a heavy charge from a blunderbuss fired by one of the watchmen, entered and shattered a brick scarcely an inch from his loin; he was wounded by two or three of the shot.

When even the exhumators did succeed in "working a grave," they now frequently found means had been employed to render their attempts at raising the body futile. Sometimes they found the coffin filled with quick lime, or buried so deeply as in certain soils to admit a foot of water above it. Occasionally, too, they met with cast-iron coffins in place of the usual wooden receptacles. The latter contrivance was considered as an insuperable obstacle to the Resurrectionists effecting their object, and

indeed had they come generally into use, would have proved so, for although the lids could be readily broken into pieces by a sledge hammer, the noise which necessarily attended the operation was a sufficient preventive to its being carried into effect. The imperishable nature, however, of the material of which they were made, itself offered the objection to their employment, for in a few years every churchyard in London would have been thus rendered useless as a further receptacle for the dead.

As a further security the walls around the burial-places were now sometimes raised six or eight feet above their usual height, and several tiers of bricks left loose upon the summit, and broken glass or iron spikes placed there, in order to offer further obstacle to their being scaled. Added to these means of defence, parties of men were now and then set to watch the Resurrectionists into the inclosures, and while they were busily employed, would suddenly rush upon them, and attacking them, while unprepared, either capture them or beat them unmercifully

Spring-guns were often set in various directions in the church-yards, but these never answered the purpose intended by them. If a Resurrectionist proposed to work where these instruments of danger were used, and when he was not intimate with the grave-digger or watchman, he sent women in the course of the day into the ground, generally at a time when there was a funeral, to note the position of the pegs to which the wires were to be attached. Having obtained this information, the first object of

the party at night would be to feel for one of these, and having found it, they carefully followed the wire, till they came up to the gun, which was then raised from the surface of the grave mound, (its usual position,) and deposited safely at its foot. I have been told that as many as seven bodies have been taken out of one grave in the course of a night, under these circumstances. The grave being filled up and restored to order, the gun was replaced precisely in the spot it had previously occupied.

It generally happens whenever danger enters into any occupation, that there are persons to be found who are anxious to mingle in the excitement, so even the frightful avocation of the Resurrectionist had its amateurs. The Hospital students would occasionally join the depredators in their nightly exploits, though not unfrequently obliged to pay for the danger which they thus incurred. They were, however, most frequently kept apart from the more important operations, being employed either in looking out or some such subordinate occupation: never, as far as I know, being allowed to engage themselves actively in the proceedings at the grave.

In Dublin, the violence exercised by the populace against the Resurrectionists, appears to have been carried to a further extent than in London. Dr. Macartney, the Professor of Anatomy in Trinity College, Dublin, gave the following account before a Committee of the House of Commons, in evidence of the danger to which the exhumators were exposed in that city.

"A report was propagated in Dublin, which originally had been circulated in Scotland, that children were kidnapped for the purpose of dissection, and this became so currently believed by the populace, that it was necessary to protect one of the anatomical schools, for nearly a week, by means of the police. This strong feeling in the public mind arose chiefly from the supposition, that these children were to be sent over either to Scotland or England by the steam vessels. The difficulty has indeed been so very great within the last few months, that most of the schools in Dublin have been unable to finish their winter dissections at the usual period. The common people frequently of late have assaulted the Resurrection-men; one of these men died in consequence of a severe beating, and another in consequence of being whipped with a sort of cat-o'-nine tails made with wire, and others were thrown into the water. In the first of these cases I paid the expenses of a prosecution for murder against the parties; they were not convicted, but the prosecution had a very good effect on the state of public feeling. I may add, that lately also, even medical men and medical students were assailed by the people, and that at present the Resurrection-men go to a great number of grave-yards, some distance from Dublin, provided with fire-arms, and are accompanied frequently by several students armed in the same manner."

Such accumulated difficulties were not readily to be overcome, and in consequence, the dissecting-

rooms became very thinly supplied, and the men were frequently out of employ. Necessity then led them to seek other means for obtaining bodies, besides that of exhumation, which resource, indeed, from the state of public excitement, seemed at one time to be totally destroyed. Among other contrivances, they adoped one of forming an intimacy with the lower classes of undertakers, to whose establishments the bodies of the poor were frequently taken, to remain several days before interment. The Resurrectionists hoped, by connecting themselves with these people, to secure many bodies; nor would it appear that they were far wrong in their expectation, that a new source of supply would thus be opened to their craft. I have reason to believe, that about the years 1825 and 1826, a time, when there was an extraordinary flow of students into London, many Subjects were procured by such means, and that often, during this period, a clergyman has read the funeral service over a coffin filled with brick-bats, or some like substitute for the stolen body. This trade would probably have been carried on for a greater length of time, had not the Resurrection-men themselves, in their quarrels, exposed the mode of proceeding, and so, consequently, put a stop to it.

More serious depredations than these were sometimes had recourse to; for the bodies of those who had met with violent deaths, were occasionally stolen, either before or after the coroner's inquest had taken place upon them. The following was the plan pursued on one occasion of this sort.

Patrick was strolling in the neighbourhood of Sydenham, when he heard that the body of a female had been found in the canal, and taken to the —— public-house on the preceding evening. Ever alive to business, he at once went to the inn, ordered some beer, and soon contrived to enter into conversation with the pot-boy. From him he learned that the body in the stable was suspected to be that of a pauper, who had escaped from the Woolwich workhouse, and seemed to be without friends to claim it for burial. He also discovered that his informant, on some previous occasion, had been employed for two nights in watching a body placed there under similar circumstances, but had been subsequently so ill repaid by the parish-officer for his trouble, that he had determined not to sit up with any other again. This was sufficient for Patrick: carefully examining, as well as his position would allow, the size and form of the key-hole of the stable-door, he soon left, and went on his way to London.

At a late hour on the same evening, Patrick returned to Sydenham with a companion, and after prowling about for an hour and a half, reconnoitring, proceeded to try if any of the keys he had brought with him, would unlock the door of the stable, which was so placed as to be easily got at from the road. To their delight, the first key used opened it at once, and the rest of their operations within the stable were soon concluded. Having obtained the prize, they turned down a nar-

row lane, and were soon far away from Sydenham, so that they succeeded in depositing the Subject at its destination in London before day-break. The next afternoon, Patrick was sitting in a room at the Elephant and Castle inn, when a coachman, with whom he was slightly acquainted, came in, and commenced giving him an account of a tremendous disturbance which had occurred that morning at Sydenham; telling him that a jury had met to sit on a body, but on going into the stable to inspect it, they found that the body had disappeared in the course of the night. He little thought how readily the man he was addressing could have explained the matter, had he chosen, or that he had at that very time, in his waistcoat pocket, half the money the missing body had produced.

Another plan to which they resorted, was to ascertain in the various poor-houses, infirmaries, and hospitals, within the Metropolis, the names and connexions of those who had lately died in such institutions. On these occasions, if they found the bodies of any who seemed destitute of relations or friends, or at any rate, whose connexions had exhibited very little concern about them, they would call on the proper officers, and, assuming an appearance of distress, assert some close relationship with the deceased, and claim the body for the purpose of burial. The demand was not very unfrequently complied with, especially at the workhouses,—the officers at these establishments being neither anxious to investigate the rights insisted on by the appli-

cant, nor unwilling to relieve themselves of the expense of the funeral.

This device originated with the Resurrectionist Patrick, and was for some time exclusively carried on by him. He succeeded in obtaining a considerable number of Subjects by these means, chiefly from St. Giles's Workhouse. At first, his wife was employed, under various disguises, to own the bodies; but after she had become known, he was compelled to avail himself of other assistance. The Subjects were removed in a shell towards the evening, by a strong fellow of the name of Couchman who acted as the porter, seemingly as if employed by an undertaker.

The manner in which Patrick's system was detected and exposed is illustrative of the feelings and conduct of these men towards each other. Murphy, who had observed the supply with which Patrick was furnishing the Schools, was anxious to destroy this exclusive benefit, but was unable to discover the source from whence the bodies were obtained. One day he saw Couchman, whom he knew to be Patrick's assistant, passing his house; he ran out to him, and finding that he had not dined, invited him to come in and take the meal with him. This, Couchman, a hearty hungry fellow, readily assented to, and Murphy took care to supply him to his heart's content. He afterwards furnished him liberally with rum and water, until, having brought the man into the best possible humour, he commenced putting his scheme into action.

He told him that he was in want of a strong and

confidential person to act as partner with him in procuring Subjects,—that he was just the man, for with his strength, and his own knowledge, if they only kept true to themselves, they could always ensure a supply, and get as much money as they wished. Couchman was in too happy a condition at that moment, to take the trouble either of sifting Murphy's motives, or of weighing the merits of so apparently tempting an offer: so the compact was settled amid assurances of mutual regard and fidelity. "Well," said Murphy, "it is always a rule with me, not to have any secrets with such friends as we are now, and I suppose it is so with you; you have been working with Patrick lately,—now where has he been raising of late?" Couchman then explained to him the whole matter. Murphy was delighted at the successful event of his plot. "Why you may make your fortune," he said, "you are safe for getting a place for life, if you only tell this to the Board. Lose no time about it, let us go at once." Couchman, half drunk, caught Murphy's excitement, and at once assented. A coach was accordingly sent for on the instant, and the man ordered to drive to St. Giles's. When they had arrived near the workhouse, Murphy recollected that he had better not go in: "For," said he to Couchman, "many of them know me, and may have some scruples about believing the story if it come from me." Couchman, therefore, went in alone; saw the master, to whom he related the whole account; and concluded by informing him, that Patrick's wife was to take

away one of the bodies which were then in the dead-house, on the following day. He then joined Murphy, who had gone into a neighbouring public-house, where they finished the evening together.

The next day, Patrick's wife, unconscious of the discovery, went to the workhouse to claim the body, and there, singularly enough, met some real relations of the deceased, who had come on the same errand as herself. Mrs. Patrick was taken before a police magistrate, but was discharged, as there was not sufficient evidence to prove her guilty of anything more than a mistake as to the identity of the individual she had been claiming.

The same evening, however, Patrick and his wife were committed for trial, on account of charges against them, sworn to by Couchman, "for owning and obtaining bodies under false pretences." The event of the trial was curious; for Couchman and his wife, who gave a minute and laughable account of one particular occasion on which, acting under Patrick's directions, they had together claimed and obtained possession of a body as that of a relative, established their own guilt in the transaction, while, at the same time by their own evidence, Patrick was cleared from the charges upon which he had been brought to trial. One of the most amusing points in the affair, was the description, by Couchman's wife, of the dress which Patrick had provided for her, not omitting to mention a clean white pocket handkerchief, with "directions for use."

This investigation led the parish officers to become more careful as to the parties to whom they gave up their dead, and of course caused a great impediment towards the further prosecution of this system.

Sometimes circumstances would occur, offering to a Resurrectionist a sudden opportunity of earning money in some unusual way: and of these chances they were always most ready to take advantage, even although they might be attended with considerable risk of detection.

One of these men, in walking in the vicinity of —— Hospital, saw a person stagger and fall heavily on the ground. He impulsively ran to him with a view of offering assistance, but he had hardly reached him when the man ceased to live. The body-snatcher no sooner perceived this, than a new train of thoughts entered his mind, and he immediately adapted his features to the part he meant to play. No one could have bewailed the loss of an attached relative with more sincerity than he affected to do, while soliciting the passers-by to assist him in conveying his cousin to the hospital, though he feared it was too late to offer any reasonable hope of his recovery. Having deposited him in the care of the house surgeon, to whom the body-snatcher was not known, he was told in as gentle a manner as kindly feeling could dictate, that the person was quite dead; upon which information the afflicted relative soon afterwards left the hospital. The following day, a coroner's inquest having sat

upon the body, he took it away in a shell, and conveyed it to another hospital. The sum which he received for it, as may be supposed, succeeded in considerably assuaging his grief on the occasion.

The following case is but a specimen of the extraordinary methods now and then adopted by the Resurrectionists to compass their object.

An intimate friend of Patrick's was employed in the service of a gentleman, whose residence was at a short distance from London. One day this man called, in company with a fellow-servant, on Patrick, and informed him that his master was dead, and that he thought something in the way of business might be done with the body, as it was lying in a back parlour, the windows of which opened on to a large lawn. Patrick made several inquiries; and having ascertained that the funeral was to take place on the following Sunday, said, in conclusion, "The coffin then will most probably be screwed down on Saturday; if it is, let me know,—I will have nothing to do with it until that part of the work is done."

Things fell out as Patrick anticipated, and accordingly on the night of Saturday, he entered at the back of the premises, and, being admitted to the parlour by the servant, commenced his operations. Unassisted by any light, he drew out all the screws, took off the lid, and, having formed an estimate, as accurate as the circumstances would allow, of the weight of the body, removed it into a box which he had brought with him for the purpose of

containing it. He next placed in the coffin a quantity of earth, which the servant had procured from the garden, corresponding to the weight of the corpse. The lid was then replaced, carefully screwed down, the pall thrown over it, and the box containing the body passed out of the window to Patrick, who hid it in a tool-house at some distance from the dwelling-place. In this shed he allowed it to remain until the morning of the following Monday, when it was removed to one of the private anatomical schools, now no longer in existence. For this Subject Patrick received fifteen guineas. I had this account from the man himself, and he said further, that being anxious to observe that all went off without interruption, he attended the funeral, which took place in a church adjoining the house. He could not help smiling as he spoke to me of the allusions from the pulpit, to which he had listened for upwards of an hour, to his departed brother beneath.

A man of the name of Israel Chapman, a Jew, residing in Field Lane, obtained many bodies by stealing them from private dwelling-places in this manner. He generally obtained them from among the poor in his own neighbourhood, from houses which contained several tenements. He was at last detected by an active officer, who found means of tracing a body which he had stolen from a respectable house, and for the recovery of which a considerable reward was offered by the friends.

The uncertainty of the success of such artifices, conjoined with the lessened opportunities of exhu-

mation, rendered the supply to the Schools, crowded with pupils, very defective, and in consequence the outrages committed to obtain the Subjects necessary for dissection were occasionally of a more aggravated character. The nature of some of these is sufficiently exhibited in a communication from Mr. Brookes, Lecturer on anatomy in Blenheim Street, to my uncle.

...

"*Theatre of Anatomy, Blenheim Street,*
10th November, 1823.

"My dear Sir Astley,

"In answer to your application, relative to the best means of procuring Subjects for the anatomical schools, I beg leave to notice, that, from the very disorganized state of the system at present pursued by the resurrection-men, little is to be expected from their services. Indeed, if from either of the modes (hereafter mentioned) an ample supply could be obtained, it would be more advantageous to desist from employing them altogether.

"To enumerate some of their practices:

"First. A most infamous plan has lately been practised by several resurrection-men, of breaking open the doors of out-houses and dead-houses, where the bodies of suicides are deposited, previous to a coroner's inquest being held, and thus committing a felony to procure them.

"Secondly. They are in the habit of destroying the tombs, vaults, and expensive coffins of the more wealthy part of the community, to obtain their prey.

"Thirdly. Violent quarrels almost always ensue, when two opposing parties meet in a cemetery, which, by rendering all liable to detection, tends much to increase the alarm that the public experience from their depredations; and, lastly, from the number of searches by warrants, &c., that almost daily take place in our premises, (for, to speak individually, I have had several Subjects seized by police officers, three within the last month, for which I had paid large sums,) it is to be presumed, that after receiving the money from an anatomist for a body, an information is subsequently laid against him by one of the party; whilst another, pretending to be a relative, claims the Subject, or restealing it, afterwards sells the same again at a different anatomical theatre.

"The exactions, villainy, and insolence of many of the long-established resurrection-men are such, that I have for some time past ceased to employ them; in consequence, my school has a very precarious and scanty supply; and that only from strangers and novices not able to cope with those desperadoes, who have had an *entrée* by means of grave-diggers, into the various burial-grounds in and near the metropolis, for a very considerable period.

"Here allow me to call to your recollection the following fact, of Mr. Smith, one of your pupils, who subsequently attended a summer course of my lectures. This gentleman being engaged alone in dissecting in the Borough, a resurrection-man entered

the apartment, and immediately proceeded to cut up the Subject, with which he was then occupied, threatening at the same time to assassinate Mr. S. should he offer the least resistance. I might further remark, that I almost owe my existence to the proximity of a police-office; for on more than one occasion, in consequence of commotions raised by these ruffians, my whole premises would have been laid waste, were it not for the prompt and friendly interference of the magistrates in the vicinity, particularly of Sir Robert Baker."

The allusion in Mr. Brookes' communication to the impositions practised on the surgeons by these men, reminds me of a circumstance which he himself told me had occurred to him. One night he was knocked up by a man, who informed him he had got a Subject for him. Mr. Brookes himself rose to receive it, according to his custom upon such occasions, and, without first inspecting the Subject to see if it were perfect, as was usually done, desired the man to bring it in, paid him a portion of the money, for which he was particularly anxious, and desired him to call the next day for the remainder. He then with a kick rolled the parcel down six or seven steps which led to his dissecting-room, and turned away.

As he was ascending the stairs to his bedroom, Mr. Brookes was surprised to hear what seemed to him to be complaints issuing from the package, which he had just so unceremoniously dismissed into the passage leading to the dissecting-

room. He listened attentively, and was soon perfectly satisfied that his suspicion, as to the source of the noises he had heard, was correct. On the instant, the thought crossed his mind that the sack contained the body of some one who had been attempted to be murdered for the sake of his body, and in whom life was not yet quite extinct. He turned to resolve these doubts, and on coming within view, was not a little astonished to see, in place of the parcel, a man standing erect, with the sack lying empty by his side. Mr. Brookes was one who knew not fear, and immediately advanced towards him. The man, alarmed, did not wait any question from Mr. Brookes, but at once, in a tone of supplication, begged him to let him go, saying he had been put into the sack when he was drunk, and that it was a trick which had been played upon him. Mr. Brookes, who did not believe one word of the fellow's story, but felt convinced that it was a preconcerted scheme of the Resurrectionist to rob him of as much money as he could get from him, opened the door, and at once kicked the Subject into the street. He afterwards considered the Resurrectionist to be altogether an assumed character, and that the men were housebreakers, their design in this affair being to obtain admittance into the premises.

I have already mentioned some of the personal dangers to which these men were exposed in consequence of the great degree of vigilance exerted by the public; yet when the demand for bodies, in consequence of the crowded state of the London

Anatomical Schools, became much increased, a number of fresh individuals were induced to practise exhumation, in consequence of the tempting amount of money obtained by the Resurrectionists. Many of these, from want of experience in their mode of proceeding, were detected, and subsequently punished. When in such scrapes, their relations used to go round to the houses of the teachers, and beg of them to bail them; but being interlopers, and generally persons whose characters were extremely suspicious, if not notoriously infamous, they seldom succeeded in obtaining anything beyond a temporary assistance.

When, however, the regular Resurrectionists had "got into trouble," especially if they were active and useful men, and there was nothing very flagrant in the case, the Surgeons invariably made great exertions in their favour, and often advanced large sums of money to keep them out of gaol, or to supply their necessities during imprisonment. Sir Astley Cooper has expended hundreds of pounds for this purpose; nor did the expense rest here, for during the confinement of the husbands, the support of their wives and families was a further tax upon him. The first three items in the following bill, which is copied from an account in my possession, will give some idea of the usual rate of these payments:—

1828.		£.	s.	d.
Jan. 29.	Paid Mr. ———, to pay Mr. ———, half the expenses for bailing Vaughan from Yarmouth, and going down . .	14	7	0
May 6.	Paid Vaughan's-wife	0	6	0
29.	Ditto Vaughan, for 26 weeks' confinement, at 10*s.* per week	13	0	0
	Four subjects, two male and two female (Murphy), at twelve guineas each .	50	8	0
June 18.	Paid Murphy, Wildes, and Naples, finishing money*	6	6	0

Occasionally, the sums expended by Surgeons on behalf of these men were much larger than the amount mentioned in the above bill. When I was first appointed to the Anatomical chair at Guy's Hospital, Murphy had been placed in confinement on account of some disturbances he had been committing in the church-yard at Yarmouth; a professional friend of mine went down to liberate him, and the amount of his expenditure on this occasion was 160*l.* Another friend of mine, an Anatomical teacher, incurred an expense of 50*l.*, being the amount of a weekly allowance, continued for two years, to one of the Resurrectionists who was confined in prison.

Some of the leaders of the Resurrectionists, notwithstanding the many expenses to which they were exposed, amassed considerable property by this revolting traffic. Nor is it surprising that

* The term, "finishing money," alludes to a sum of money which was usually given at the end of a session: the amount was generally regulated by the services which had been performed by the Resurrectionist during the time.

fortunes should be acquired in this way, when we remember the immense profits which any one of the heads of these gangs, if he were only as prudent as he must necessarily be clever, had it in his power to extract from the sums paid for the Subjects supplied under his superintendence. A person who was connected with Sir Astley Cooper at this period, and who has given me some assistance in these details, informs me that he once paid Murphy, at one School, 72*l.* for six Subjects, and then saw him on the same evening, at another School, afterwards receive 72*l.* more, for six other Subjects. Out of this sum, Murphy would have to pay four or five underlings in his employ, but not at a higher rate than 5*l.* each,—thus clearing in one evening upwards of a hundred pounds. I shall again allude to the amount of property acquired by a few of these persons, when speaking in detail of their habits and private history.

The high prices which were notoriously given to the Resurrectionists for Subjects not unfrequently led persons, while alive, to offer to dispose of their bodies on certain pecuniary conditions, for dissection after death. It was very rarely, however, that any Surgeon acceded to such a proposal; for it was well known that if the agreement were entered into, it could not be enforced, the law not recognising any right of property in a dead body. Sir Astley would never listen to such offers. Among his papers is the following elegant epistle, containing a request of this nature:—

"Sir,

"I have been informed you are in the habit of purchasing bodys, and allowing the person a sum weekly: knowing a poor woman that is desirous of doing so, I have taken the liberty of calling to know the truth.

"I remain your humble servant,

"* * *."

The answer to it was brief*:—

"The *truth* is that you deserve to be hanged for making such an unfeeling offer. "A. C."

There is also a lengthy document, written in a fair legible hand, and signed "William Williams," containing a bequest of his body. It is couched in terms of legal preciseness. The preamble is curious:—

"Sir,

"Being fully sensible of the uncertainty of this life, and of the mortality of my animated frame,—the tabernacle of my soul and of the living spirit that pervades it,—and my mind being impressed with the subject of the public benefit to be derived from anatomy, I beg, Sir, to communicate to you in writing, what in substance has already been submitted by personal communication to your notice, in regard to my body, graciously bestowed on me by my Maker, when the hereafter

* Sir Astley Cooper was in the habit of preserving letters, and frequently copied on them his replies to their contents. The above answer was thus preserved.

desertion of that body by its animated tenants of spirit and soul shall take place.

"If, Sir, in your lifetime, I die a bachelor or unmarried, within the Metropolis of Great Britain, called London, or within a convenient distance of the same, or whatever you may consider a convenient distance, I beg, with a view to the furtherance of useful knowledge in the science of anatomy, &c."

The substance of the remainder of this eccentric epistle, is simply, that if Mr. Williams dies under the above circumstances, his body is to be dissected by, or under the supervision of Sir Astley; but that if he should leave a wife, this bequest should be subject to her pleasure and discretion.

The graves were not always disturbed to obtain possession of the entire body, for the teeth alone, at this time, offered sufficient remuneration for the trouble and risk incurred in such undertakings. Every dentist in London would at that time purchase teeth from these men, and the public can have but little idea of the immense sums of money which persons thus occupied could earn. The following circumstance will best give an idea of the amount of money which occasionally could be acquired in such transactions.

Murphy, an active man, no less in mind than in body, and who never moved but in his occupation, in taking a walk, observed a neat meeting-house, attached to which was a paved burial-ground. Looking around, he observed a trap-door, leading,

he had no doubt, to vaults of hidden treasures, and these he determined at once to explore. A short time after coming to this conclusion, dressed in a suit of black, and with a demure demeanour, his eyes reddened as if from tears, he called upon the superintendent of the meeting-house burial-ground, and described to him, in much apparent distress, the recent bereavement which he had met with of his wife, and his anxious wish that her bones should repose in his neat and quiet sanctuary. Slipping a half-crown into his hand, Murphy readily induced the man to permit him to descend into the vault, under the idea that he wished to select the spot for the deposit of the remains of his beloved. Murphy, who, while outside, had studied the bearings of the trap-door, after much pretended inspection of the vault, took an opportunity, while his companion's back was turned to him, of suddenly raising his hand to the cieling and slipping back two bolts which secured the door. On that very night, Murphy let himself down into the vault, and then by a few hours' active exertion, secured possession to himself of the front teeth of all its inmates. By this night's adventure, Murphy made a clear profit of sixty pounds.

While I was in Spain, in 1814, just as we were entering France, at the village of Sarre, one evening my servant came into my tent,—for we were at bivouac,—and told me that there was a man outside who wished particularly to see me, having brought a letter from my uncle in London, with especial orders to deliver it into my own hands. I went out of the

tent door, when I was accosted by a short thick-set man in rough apparel, whose gait and dress ill accorded with the appearance which I had expected to see presented by a messenger from my uncle, sent on so special a mission. The letter was unsealed, and equally singular for its object as, (considering the distance I was from my uncle, and the length of time which had passed since I had seen or heard from him,) for its laconic style:—

"My dear Bransby,

"Butler will tell you the purport of his visit. I hope you are well and happy.

"Your affectionate uncle,

"ASTLEY COOPER."

Upon asking this Butler, who appeared to be in a state of great destitution, what might be his object, he said it was to get teeth, and perhaps when he obtained the letter from my uncle, that was all the information he had given him; but when I came to question him upon the means by which he was to obtain these teeth, he said, "Oh, Sir, only let there be a battle, and there'll be no want of teeth. I'll draw them as fast as the men are knocked down."

As may be supposed, I could not harbour such a person; but he was at the time without a farthing, and had contracted a complaint from the labour and fatigue he had undergone, having travelled from Lisbon to the frontier of Spain on foot, or in commissariat bullock wains, as opportunity offered, so that compassion for his situation prevented my

discarding him at once as he deserved. His disease required the performance of a surgical operation for its cure, and I therefore took him into the hospital, and when he was well, gave him some money, and desired him to let me hear no more of him: not omitting to say, at the same time, that his project was no less unjustifiable than, as I trusted, it would prove impracticable. On my return to England two years afterwards, however, he wrote to thank me for having saved his life in Spain, and could not at the same time deny himself the gratification of announcing to me, that he had earned a clear profit of three hundred pounds by this adventure.

Butler was not the first, as I have since ascertained, to make the Peninsula the scene, or the Duke's achievements the means, of such lucre; for Crouch and Harnett, two well-known Resurrectionists, had, some time prior to his visit, supplied the wealthier classes of London with teeth from similar sources.

The resurrection-men were occasionally employed on expeditions into the country to obtain possession of the bodies of those who had been subjected to some important operation, and of which a *post mortem* examination was of the greatest interest to science. Scarcely any distance from London was considered as an insuperable difficulty in the attaining of this object, and as certainly as the Resurrectionist undertook the task, so certain was he of completing it. This was usually an expensive undertaking, but still it did not restrain

the most zealous in their profession from occasionally engaging these men in this employment. Sir Astley Cooper, as may be surmised from a consideration of his character, was not backward in availing himself of these opportunities. Nor had he by these means the satisfaction only of deriving information from the examination of these cases, but he was thus enabled to add to his museum many rare records of the triumphs of surgery, and examples of the compensating powers of nature after removal of some important parts of her constitution.

I have known him send one of these men considerably more than a hundred miles to obtain a Subject for the purpose of examining the effect of an operation performed years previously, actuated by the desire of acquiring a knowledge of any new facts which the inspection might afford, and of thus being enabled to improve any future operations of the same kind which he might be required to perform.

The following is a bill on account of one of these expeditions.

"1820, JUNE 1st.—Paid Hollis and Vaughan for getting a Subject from ——, in the county of ——, a man that Sir Astley Cooper performed an operation upon twenty-four years ago.

Coach for two there and back	£3	12	0
Guards and Coachmen	0	6	0
Expenses for two days	1	14	6
Carriage of Subject, and porter	0	12	6
Subject	7	7	0
	£13	12	0

A surgeon residing at or near the neighbourhood from which this Subject was obtained, had watched the case there for years, and, on the death taking place, immediately wrote to Sir Astley. Sir Astley, on learning this event, sent for the person from whom I obtained the above account, and desired him to make an arrangement with the above-named men to obtain the Subject, his concluding remark being, "cost what it may."

Such were these people and their transactions; and being such, it must strike any thinking man with wonder, that there was not a spontaneous determination originating from the most indignant feelings of every surgeon to crush at once both the traffic and the persons who were engaged in it. But, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that the possession of the means for studying anatomy, as the very ground-work of all medical science, was essentially necessary, if only an equality of rank and reputation were desirable to be maintained, by the professors of medicine in this country, with their more fortunate continental neighbours of the same profession.

Government felt this as forcibly as the members of the medical profession, and while on one hand they were trying to enact laws to legalize dissection, on the other they were shutting their eyes to the acts of illegality we have described, with the existence of which they were all along familiar. During the war, while thousands were submitted to the care of the medical officers then bearing his Majesty's commission in the two services, the Govern-

ment perceived how impracticable it was to direct measures for stopping these proceedings, as they would at once have necessarily precluded the possibility of any military or naval medical officer being competent to perform the duties which were expected from him. No blame, therefore, can be laid upon a ministry for shunning the responsibility of doing away with an admitted evil by substituting a greater, however plausible and popular any change of this sort would have been. Such were the difficulties which prevented any attempt to institute a law, which must have required a long time for its beneficial working, while in the interim the army and navy in active employment would have been supplied with inefficient medical officers. Nor, if we take a political view of that period, can it be believed that the public could have been induced to consent to any arrangement, by which either the poor-house or the hospital, even under the sanction of Government, would be required to give up its dead for dissection, a proposal which was deprecated at the time by every person who had the power of giving utterance to the horror inseparable from the notion, that the bodies of the poor were to be given up to treatment, such as those of executed felons were subjected to. These circumstances, and these alone, allowed this traffic to be in force at a period when refinement and civilization were as cultivated as at the present moment. The facts were known, but they were allowed to pass, because at the same time the necessity out of which they arose was forcibly, though reluctantly, admitted.

In proportion, then, as a Surgeon of that day was prominently distinguished in the education of professional aspirants, so did he become mixed up with these reckless characters, and no man knew so much of their habits, their crimes, and even of the few good qualities which some of them possessed, as Sir Astley Cooper. He knew how to turn the peculiar merits of each to the advantage of his school, and although he was ever most guarded, in taking Subjects for dissection, not to do so without knowing something of the source from whence they were derived, yet he so managed, as to secure a better supply than most of the other teachers of London; and, indeed, such was his power over these men at one time, that there was not a burial-place in London from which he could not, if he thought proper, obtain any one particular Subject he might wish to be exhumed.

I once heard Sir Astley, when wishing to expose to a certain person the power of these men, and his influence over them, offer to procure, within three days, the body of a dignified official personage, who had been buried in a place apparently of impenetrable security. I have every reason to believe, that had he chosen, he could have effected this object. Sir Astley Cooper, indeed, stated as much before a Committee of the House of Commons, in reply to the following question:—

"Does the state of the law actually prevent the teachers of anatomy from obtaining the body of any person, which, in consequence of some peculiarity of

structure, they may be particularly desirous of procuring?"

Sir Astley Cooper.—"The law does not prevent our obtaining the body of an individual if we think proper; for there is no person, let his situation in life be what it may, whom, if I were disposed to dissect, I could not obtain."

In reply to another question, Sir Astley Cooper said, "The law only enhances the price, and does not prevent the exhumation: nobody is secured by the law; it only adds to the price of the subject*."

It had been, however, the object of the profession, years and years past, to do all in their power to prevent the exhumation of bodies, and many interviews, in my recollection, took place between Lord Liverpool, (who, from the friendship and strict confidence which existed between himself and Sir Astley Cooper, took a lively interest in the subject,) and members of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, to devise some plan to effect this object without offending the feelings of the community. It was always thought too hazardous a risk to attempt the enactment of laws on the subject, for the necessary publicity of the discussions upon them, it was feared, would render such a proceeding liable to defeat the very object for which it was instituted.

The horrible crimes committed at Edinburgh†,

* See Report from the Select Committee on Anatomy, p. 18.

† Several members of the profession had anticipated these dreadful effects of the laws regarding dissection, as they then existed, and had openly expressed their fears on the subject, in the course of the communications which took place regarding the proposed alterations in them. I much doubt whether all the

and exposed in the year 1829, at last brought the question fully before the notice of the public, and rendered it peremptorily necessary for the Government to establish some means of legalizing dissection, under proper restrictions regulated by the ministers of the Crown. To secure the strict adherence to these laws, an inspector was appointed, to whom the certificate of the death of the individual, and the circumstances under which he died, were to be submitted, before the body could be dissected, and then only in the Schools in which anatomizing was licensed by Government. Various consultations on the subject took place between Sir Astley Cooper, Sir Benjamin Brodie, and other members of the Council of the College of Surgeons, and the Secretary of the Home Department. A committee of members of the House of Commons was also appointed to consider the best means of putting this desirable plan into effect, and much important information was elicited; and although, it is true, there is still a difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of Subjects, it is equally certain that the modern system has much raised the characters of those who are studying anatomy, as well as the science itself, in the estimation of the public.

murders committed under the system of "*burking*," came to light. I have heard one of the Resurrectionists, the chief opponent of Crouch and his gang, in their attempts of extortion, assert, that if his body could have been taken to any dissecting-room where it would not have been recognised, he had no doubt he should have been "*made away with long before the Natomy Bill had passed.*"

CHAPTER XX.

Concluding History of the Resurrectionists. Butler. His Robbery of the Edinburgh Mail. Sentence of Death passed upon Him. Crouch, the Leader of the Old Party. His Character. His Occupations abroad. His Death. Jack Harnett. Bill Harnett. Description of this Person. His Death at St. Thomas's Hospital, and Horror of Dissection. N——. Holliss. His Origin. His Treacherous Conduct and Ruin. Vaughan. Anecdote. Is Sentenced to Transportation. Accessions to the Party of Resurrectionists. Murphy, their New Leader. His Tact and Cunning. His Accumulation of Property. L——. His Artifices, and present Occupation. Patrick. His Character. Anecdote. Millard. His early Employment at St. Thomas's Hospital. Imprisonment. His Enmity towards Sir Astley Cooper. His Death. Concluding Remarks.

It will be interesting to observe, both as a matter of curiosity, and as a moral lesson, the sequel of the lives of the men whose occupations I have been led to describe in this Memoir. Of the necessity of their employment by Surgeons, in former years, sufficient evidence has, I trust, been afforded to the reader; but at the same time it is impossible for any well-regulated mind not to regret that means were not earlier devised to prevent the frequent outrages which their pursuits inflicted upon the best feelings of the public.

The high prices which the exhumators received,

secured to them larger sums of money than one would suppose people in their situation could possibly have expended or required; but riot and dissipation were the constant attendants of their lives. The wages of a week were often sufficient to supply a month's reckless idleness, and not until they had squandered every farthing in their haunts, would they return, with the exception of some of the leaders, to their employment. Some few of them, however, more cunning and provident, husbanded their means, so as to enable them not only to appear respectable in personal exterior, but even in domestic life, when separated from their business. The possession of such resources gave them double means of accumulating wealth, for they had in their hands the means of bribing the parochial hirelings, so that they could receive every information necessary to facilitate their objects, and could work unmolested; and they could always obtain manual assistance from their less prudent companions, driving some hard bargain with them, and thus readily procure a supply when wanted at the schools.

Of the more influential and notorious of the Resurrectionists, when I first heard of their proceedings, the names of Butler, Crouch, Harnett, N——, Holliss, and Vaughan, chiefly occur to my recollection. These, indeed, were the only *regular* Resurrectionists; the others of the body being composed of Spitalfields weavers, or thieves, who found the disguise of this occupation convenient for carrying on their own peculiar avocations.

Butler, whose employment by Mr. Cooper, so early as the time when he lived in St. Mary Axe, has been noticed in a preceding chapter, is the oldest in my memory. He was a short, stout, good-tempered man, with a laughing eye, and Sancho Panza sort of expression. He was much addicted to gin. When drunk, he was a great boaster, and inclined to be violent; but was easily cooled down by good-humoured treatment.

He was originally a porter in the dissecting-room at St. Thomas's; afterwards followed his father's business of an articulator, and dealer in bones; and subsequently dealt much in teeth. I have already spoken of his interview with me in Spain. On his return to England he went to Liverpool, and under an assumed name practised for some time with considerable prosperity as a dentist. His dissolute habits, however, soon prevailed, and prevented the continued success of a business which might otherwise have secured his independence. He became involved in debt, and was obliged to flee from his creditors; he then went away, and lived for some time upon means, the source of which was only known to himself. Some years previous to this period, the Edinburgh mail had been stopped and robbed by persons, none of whom, I believe, were at the time apprehended. Butler had not left Liverpool very long, after his failure in that city, before he was taken up, for trying to pass a five-pound note, the number of which, by proving it to be one of those stolen on that occasion, and a train of other

circumstances, led to the detection of his connexion with the robbery of the mail. He was tried, and received sentence of death.

From some circumstance, his execution was delayed considerably beyond the usual period, and Butler, who had accumulated a great quantity of information on various matters, and was in other respects an entertaining companion, contrived to attract the favourable attention of the governor of the gaol. Having complained to him of the want of occupation his position entailed upon him, the governor, who had learned that he had been in business as an articulator*, procured for him the carcase of a horse. The bones of this animal were prepared in the usual way, and Butler, to whose cell they were afterwards removed, proceeded to articulate them so as to form the skeleton.

The Austrian Archdukes, John and Lewis, were at the time in this kingdom, and, among other places, paid a visit to Edinburgh. Here they inspected the various public institutions: and on visiting the gaol, found Butler hard at work in his cell, articulating the bones of this horse. Their Imperial Highnesses were much struck by the circumstance, and having learned from the governor that he was under sentence of death in consequence of robbing the mail coach, interested themselves in his favour, and sued to the Prince Regent for his pardon. This was, after much difficulty,

* This was the man who prepared the skeleton of the Elephant, which Mr. Cooper dissected in St. Mary Axe.

granted, on condition that he left the country immediately, and did not attempt on any account to return. He accordingly took his departure, and has never been heard of since.

Crouch, or Ben Crouch, as he was called, was the son of a carpenter who worked at Guy's Hospital. He was a tall, powerful, athletic man, with coarse features, marked with the small-pox; and was well known as a prize-fighter. He used to dress in very good clothes, and wore a profusion of large gold rings, and a heap of seals dangling from his fob. A friend of mine, a surgeon holding a distinguished position in the profession, to whom I am indebted for this and many other particulars, recollects hearing him boast that the cloth of a certain coat which he had on at the time, was part of a large quantity stolen from a house in Watling Street, and there was no doubt of the truth of his assertion. He was tried for the robbery, but acquitted by proving an *alibi*.

Crouch was always rude and offensive in his manners, exceedingly artful, very rarely drunk, but, when so, most abusive and domineering. In his prosperous days, he was the councillor, director, comptroller, and treasurer of the whole party, and in dividing the spoils, took especial care to cheat every one. This was very easily effected, for usually he himself was the only one who had any clear-headedness by the time, when the general accounts were gone through. He continued actively engaged in the business till about 1817, when he gradually

withdrew from it, and occupied himself principally in obtaining and disposing of teeth. He went abroad several times, and followed this occupation both in the Peninsula and France, in conjunction with another Resurrectionist, with whom he was always on the most intimate terms, of the name of Jack Harnett.

Upon these occasions, they used to obtain licenses as suttlers, in order that they might be considered legitimate camp-followers. In addition to their object of procuring teeth, they had other designs, of even a more revolting nature, and fraught with the utmost danger, as well from exposure in action, as from their liability to detection by the soldiers, in which case destruction would have been the inevitable consequence. The purpose to which I allude, was to follow closely the troops into the field of action, and to rob the killed as soon as prudence would allow them to employ themselves in their diabolical transactions. The epaulettes from the shoulders of the officers, and the bullion from their regimentals, offered a considerable source of gain on these occasions, and I have been informed by those who were made acquainted by the very men with the facts, that they not unfrequently found trinkets of value, and even considerable sums of money in the pockets of the slain. We will hope that their love of lucre never led them to dispatch the wounded, whose cries might otherwise have led to their detection.

They generally obtained the teeth on the night

succeeding the battle, only drawing them from those soldiers whose youth and health rendered them peculiarly fitted for the purposes to which they were to be employed. Nothing but the large sums of money derived from these depredations could have prompted them to encounter the risk inseparable from such proceedings; for I do not believe a soldier in the whole army would have hesitated one moment to blow out the brains of a person whom he found robbing the corpse of a comrade in this manner; in such disgust did they hold the habits and atrocious acts of the miscreants who followed the camp for the purpose of plunder.

At one time during their Peninsular expedition, these companions became separated by accident, and entirely lost sight of one another for three weeks; each considering that the other had fallen a victim to his occupation, either by the chance of war, or by the hand of some detector of his criminal pursuits. The circumstances under which they again met, are worthy of relation. As the army advanced, it frequently happened that the more opulent inhabitants of the district in the seat of war left their houses, and frequently, when the advance was very rapid, without any protection. Crouch heard of a château which had been thus deserted, and immediately made up his mind to plunder it of its valuables, and accordingly hastened to the place where it was situated. No sooner was it dark, than he entered the deserted house, into which he found ready access. While groping

his way,—for he had not struck a light, not intending to do so until he considered himself secure from interruption,—he suddenly stopped to listen to what he believed to be an approaching footstep. For some time he attentively noticed every deviation from stillness, and at last became fully convinced that he was not alone in the habitation. Presently he heard some one approaching towards him, with a caution which evinced an equal knowledge on the part of the other of the presence of a second person. The deadly silence was only interrupted by the suppressed breathing of the two guilty depredators; but, remarkable as the fact may appear, this was sound enough to inform one of them who was his companion, for Crouch recognised the peculiar breathing of his lost friend Harnett, and in total darkness challenged him by name. The recognition was mutual, a light was quickly struck, they related briefly their adventures since their separation, regaled themselves upon the ample supplies the house afforded, packed up portable valuables for which they afterwards obtained 400*l.*, and on the following morning left the pillaged mansion to prosecute their usual occupations.

From the produce of these adventures, Crouch was enabled to build a large hotel at Margate, and this speculation at first seemed likely to answer his expectations. By some chance, however, the nature of his previous occupation in life was discovered, and such was the effect of this disclosure, that his house was avoided, and he

was obliged to part with it, at a very heavy loss. During the time he kept this establishment, he paid occasional visits to the Continent to collect teeth, in company with his friend Harnett, they having made arrangements to obtain these articles from persons connected with various burial-places in France and Belgium. However, from the number of Jews and others who gradually entered into this traffic, the profits were much diminished, and Crouch became very poor; and on one occasion being in emergency, he surreptitiously obtained possession of property belonging to Harnett, who was at that time in France, and applied it to his own purposes. Harnett immediately came over to England, followed Crouch, who had gone into Scotland, and having found him, gave him into custody. He was brought to trial for obtaining money under false pretences, and was sentenced to imprisonment for a twelvemonth. He afterwards came to London, where he lived awhile in great poverty, and was one morning found dead in the tap-room of a public-house near Tower-hill. He was in a sitting posture, his face leaning upon his arms, which were on the table, and he appeared to have expired suddenly.

Jack Harnett above alluded to, was a rather stout, red-haired, ill-looking fellow; uncouth in his address and manner of speaking, fond of watch garniture, and always the firm and steady friend of Crouch, until the incident I just now related. Whether he was better treated by Crouch than the others, or on what other account he managed to be

on such close terms with him, was not known, but those two always held together whenever disputes occurred in the party. In the latter part of his career he accumulated a considerable sum of money in the manner already described, and not being a speculator like his companion, died comparatively rich, leaving nearly 6000*l.* to his family.

An uncle of this last-mentioned Resurrectionist was also engaged in the business, and was a great favourite with Mr. Cooper and Mr. Henry Cline, he was called Bill Harnett. He was a thoroughly good-tempered, and generally well-behaved man; and his language scarcely ever rude or offensive to any one. He was slim but muscular, had a cheerful expression of countenance, and in his intonation and manner of speaking very much resembled an Irishman, which, however, I believe he was not. He was the only man of the whole set at this time whose word could in the slightest degree be trusted, and was very faithful to the interests of the Schools. He was a determined opponent to Crouch, whom he cordially hated: he would seldom work with him, but generally chose N—— as his companion. He used to supply bodies at the ordinary prices, whilst Crouch and the greater part of the men under him were standing out, either for a douceur, or an increase of price on each Subject, or for both. Through this man's assistance, the price of four guineas each Subject was long continued, and it was only as his health broke up, and he became unfit for work, that the price was materially raised.

Bill was a very brave and courageous man, and a good boxer; he fought with Crouch, who was nearly twice his size and weight, in a pitched battle at Wimbledon. He had previously received an injury of the jaw, and Crouch hit him a severe blow on the part, and so appeared to turn the event of the battle, which otherwise promised to be in Harnett's favour. Bill was unfortunately very fond of gin, and as he grew older, his affection for it increased, and at last he was rarely sober: a tendency which he had always evinced to pulmonary disease was thus increased; he became consumptive, and died in St. Thomas's Hospital. He was cheerful and good-tempered to the last, and thankful for the kindness shown to him. This man during his illness exhibited a singular horror of being dissected. A few days before his death, he sent an especial message to Mr. Green to come to him, and with the greatest anxiety extorted from him a solemn promise that his body should not even be opened for examination.

N—— was also a civil, and well-conducted man, slight in person, with a pleasing expression of countenance and of respectful manners. He was always ready to promise fairly, and often worked against Crouch, of whom, however, he was much afraid; but he never could be relied on, as he was very timid, and was easily forced to act directly contrary to his engagements. He continued in the business until its termination, and was afterwards taken as a servant into the dissecting-room of St. Thomas's Hospital. Here he conducted himself well and faithfully,

but having become disposed to drink ardent spirits, gradually weakened and destroyed his constitution.

This man was the son of a respectable stationer and bookbinder, and in early life went as a sailor into the king's service. He was for some time on board the "Excellent," and served in that vessel in the engagement off Cape St. Vincent. He returned to England after this battle, and having soon disposed of his prize-money, went on board a vessel cruizing about the Channel. Becoming tired of this employment, he ran away, and came to London, where he soon afterwards obtained the situation of a grave-digger to the Spa-fields burial-ground. Here he was entrapped into connexion with the Resurrectionists by a Scotchman of the name of White, who, although never personally engaged in the business of exhumation, made a considerable profit by disposing of the bodies raised by grave-diggers and other inferior functionaries attached to the various burial-places in London. He first induced N—— to procure teeth for him, then bodies of a small size, and subsequently any Subject that might be required.

The method by which N—— contrived to supply this man, without being detected in his proceedings, was curious. He was obliged to be extremely cautious, for at one end of the ground was a house, in which resided two of the proprietors, while his own residence was immediately opposite. His plan was this: after a funeral had taken place, and the mourners left the ground, before commencing to fill

up the grave, N—— used to remove the body out of the coffin, and place it in a sack, which he had ready for the purpose. He then threw in sufficient mould to cover this, and afterwards gradually filled up the grave, taking care to draw the sack nearer and nearer to the surface as he proceeded, until it was covered only by a thin layer of loose earth, which formed the surface of the mound. At night he dragged it up out of this hiding-place, by means of the mouth of the sack, which he always left in such a position that it could be readily reached by him; and then, carrying it to his tool-shed, lashed it up in a nut-basket, and took it to the receiver, who was waiting at an appointed meeting-place.

This system was continued for two or three years, when one evening as White was carrying a Subject along the streets, packed up as usual in a nut-basket, he was stopped by some Bow-Street patrols, who insisted on examining his parcel. The Subject was exposed, but White contrived to make his escape: an examination, however, was made of the various burial-places, to ascertain, if possible, the parties concerned in the transaction, and, among others, that of Spa-fields. After several graves had been opened, the vacant coffin was discovered, and N—— was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the House of Correction, or the "Bastile," as it was familiarly called by the Exhumators. From this place N—— contrived to escape, in company with a fellow-prisoner, by making an opening through a skylight in the roof, and afterwards scaling

the outer walls of the prison, by means of a rope which they had formed out of the oakum, the picking of which was their ordinary day's employment. N—— was afterwards retaken, in consequence of information given against him by his enemy Crouch; and it was only through the mediation of Sir Astley Cooper with the Secretary of State, that he escaped the punishment due to this aggravation of his original offence.

N—— was more frequently imprisoned, perhaps, than any other Resurrectionist, and on each occasion in consequence of information given by Crouch, or some of his party. He does not appear to have been much depressed by these repeated punishments, but was in the habit of amusing himself by writing down remarks upon his fellow-prisoners. I have lately seen a list, in his own hand-writing, of the men who were with him on one occasion, when he was confined in Maidstone Gaol for robbing a churchyard at Woolwich.

It commences with the following remarks on the authorities of the prison:—

"Maidstone Gaol, Oct. 21st, 1813.

"Thos. Cutbush, Governor, a d——d old file, chained my hands to my waist, from Maidstone unto Newgate.

"Thos. Stephens, head turnkey, very good man.

"Stephen Page, under . . ditto."

He then mentions eight men, sentenced to two years' imprisonment for "conveying to the coast French prisoners," and proceeds with his list:—

"Josh. N——," (himself,) "Resurgam Hommo, for trial.
"Joe Lester, second at a fight, the man was killed at Woolwich . . . . . } for trial
"Mich. Oram killed the man . . . . }
"T. Salmon, smuggler, } King's pleasure.
"Rich. Shilling, ditto, }
"D. Rochester, swindling, one year.
"H. Cook, ditto, ditto.
"J. Perrott, defraud, two years.
"Jn. Horam, housebreaking, suffered death.
"Jn. Caid, ———, seven years.
"J. Hawthorn, } smashers, six months."
"R. Simmons, }

N—— used at one time to keep a regular diary of his proceedings. The early part only of this "log-book," as he called it, now remains; from this, however, I will extract, verbatim, a few of the entries, which, although not containing any new facts as to the proceedings of the Resurrectionists, will serve to exhibit them to the reader from a new point of view.

"Tuesday, Dec. 24th, 1811. At 12 at midnight, party went to Wygate, got 3 small, came back and got 2 large at Newington. Came home, then settled at Ben's. Each man's share 8*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* At home all night.

"Wednesday, 25th. At home all day and night.

"Thursday, 26th. At home all day and night.

"Friday, 27th. Went to look out. Came home, met Ben and Dan[l] at 5 o'clock. Went to Harps, got 1 large, and took it to Jack's house. Jack, Bill, and Tom not with us, getting drunk.

"Saturday, 28th. At 4 o'clock in the morning, got up with the whole party to Guy's and St. Thomas's Crib, got 6, took them to St. Thomas's, and met at Thomas's again, packed up 3 for Edinbro, took one over to Guy's.

"Sunday 29th. At home all day and night.

* * * * * * *

"Wednesday, Jan. 8th, 1812. Received 4*l.* 4*s.* for adult. At home all night.

"Thursday, 9th. Went down to St. Thomas's. Got paid 8*l.* 8*s.*, 2 adult. At home all night.

"Friday, 10th. Met at St. Thomas's. Settled. Each man's share 12*l.* 12*s.* 3 things* on hand.

"Saturday, 11th. At 4 A.M. got up and went to the Hospital Crib, got 2 adults, met at Barth^m^. Packed up 2 for the country. Sold one at St. Thomas's. At home all night.

"Sunday, 12th. At home all day. At 11 P.M. met, and the whole party to Wygate. Got 2 adult and 2 small. Afterwards went to the Green. Got 2 large and 1 large small. Took them to Barth^m^.

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"Tuesday, 14th. At 1 A.M. got up. Ben, Bill, and me went to St Luke's, 2 adults, Jack, Dan to Big Gates, 1 large and 1 small, took them to Barth^m^. Came home and went to St. Thomas's, afterwards went to the other end of the town for orders, at home all night.

"Wednesday, 15th. Went to St. Thomas's. Came back, packed up 2 large and 1 small for Edinbro. At home all night.

"Thursday, 16th. The party met at the Hartichoak, settled the above. Each man's share 8*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.* At home all night.

"Friday, 17th. Went and look out, came home and met at 11, party except Dan^l^ went to the Hospital Crib and got 4, was stopt by the patrols, Butler's horse and cart were taken.

"Saturday, 18th. Went to the White-horse, Butler bailed, at home all night.

"Sunday, 19th. Went and looked out, at home all night, could not get the horse out of the stable.

"Monday, 20th. At home all day and night. Butler, Jack got drunk.

"Tuesday, 21st. Looked out. Jack and Butler drunk as before, hindered us of going out, at home."

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* This was the cant denomination for Subjects among the Resurrectionists.

These extracts will furnish the reader with a sufficient insight into the "strange eventful history" of this man's daily occupations.

Holliss was brought into the business by Harnett, and in the course of his career became one of the greatest villains, perhaps, ever connected with this or any other calling. He was a sexton, who had long connived at the proceedings of the Resurrectionists, and had forwarded them in their operations in the ground over which he was guardian,—of course receiving an ample compensation for his assistance. Naturally avaricious, he became more and more exorbitant in his demands upon the body-snatchers, and they in consequence exposed him to his employers: he was then obliged, in self-defence, to become a Resurrectionist. He was not much esteemed by his companions, as they considered him an additional load, without being of much worth in their undertakings. He contrived to save money, and at the termination of the necessity for the avocations in which he had been engaged, kept a hackney-coach, which he himself drove.

The train of circumstances, which ultimately led to his ruin, is curious. Harnett the younger had gone on one of his expeditions to France, to procure teeth, and had taken his daughter, a young woman, with him. On returning, he landed at Tower Stairs, and, meeting an acquaintance, sent his daughter home to a place near Deptford in a hackney-coach, the fare of which he paid. The girl had with her her own packages, and also a box,

containing the produce of her father's expedition, which he valued at 700*l*. There was a turnpike-gate near Harnett's residence, and, at the driver's suggestion, to avoid payment of the toll, the girl was set down a short distance within reach of it. In her anxiety to see her friends, and with the natural thoughtlessness of youth, she took with her only her own boxes, forgetting altogether her father's package of teeth. The coachman, from some remarks he had heard made by Harnett to his daughter, when he placed the box in her charge, had been led to consider that it contained something valuable; and, although the girl remembered her loss before he was out of hearing, and tried to stop him by her calls, he determined to keep possession of the treasure, and drove away with redoubled speed.

Harnett soon after reached home; and when the news of his loss was communicated to him, fell into a state little short of madness. In the course of the afternoon, he went to Holliss as the person, in his capacity as hackney-coachman, most likely to assist him out of his difficulty. He told him that he had just deposited fifty pounds at a certain public-house, to obtain restoration of the stolen property, and moreover promised Holliss, as a friend, a sum of fifty pounds, in addition to the other reward, if he would find out the thief, or by any means manage to procure the lost package for him. Harnett at one time had brought an action against Holliss, to recover eighty-three pounds, and, although he obtained a verdict in his favour, after all paid the expenses

himself, rather than Holliss should be thrown into gaol, the latter promising to pay him the debt as soon as he had the means of doing so in his power. This, which was still owing, Harnett, as a further inducement to Holliss to exert himself, promised to forgive him in case of the box of teeth being recovered through his means.

The name of the coachman who had stolen the box was Haydon, and, singularly enough, was an acquaintance of Holliss. He had never been a Resurrectionist, and consequently, on discovering the nature of his acquisition, was utterly at a loss how to dispose of it. His friend Holliss, of whose previous occupation he had some indistinct knowledge, came to his recollection as a person likely to be able to make use of the teeth, and he accordingly drove to his house, on the evening of the same day, to offer to make some arrangement with him respecting them. After much bargaining, Holliss offered him five pounds for the box, with a promise of more money if he obtained a certain price for them: and Haydon, ignorant of their value, and of other means of disposing of them, accepted the offer, and brought them out of the boot of his coach into the house. Having thus obtained possession of the treasure, Holliss thought he could make a better bargain with it than by accepting the offers of his friend Harnett, and accordingly took some of the teeth to the dentists in various parts of the Metropolis. In this manner he continued for some time deriving considerable gain from this ill-acquired property—the

source of his wealth being a matter of surprise to all his companions.

It at last occurred to Harnett to call on some of his old employers, to see if any of his property had been disposed of to them. Among others, he called on a highly respectable dentist in Burlington Street, who at once showed him a quantity of the very teeth for which he was searching, and informed him that he had purchased them from Holliss. There was no difficulty in recognising them, for they were arranged in complete sets, and were strung on a peculiar wire made in France, more of which Harnett had in his possession. Having procured some officers, he immediately went to the Elephant and Castle, found Holliss close at hand, and gave him into custody. He was at once committed for trial, and failing in procuring bail, was imprisoned. He was afterwards tried at Croydon, and merely by a flaw in the evidence, was saved from transportation. In the mean time, however, Harnett had seized on his horses and household furniture, to recover the debt of eighty-three pounds which was owing to him; and on his liberation from confinement, Holliss found himself almost destitute.

He subsequently became connected with horse-stealers, and on one occasion purchased a stolen horse from a man of the name of Page, not a principal, though implicated in the robbery, and afterwards sold it at a large profit. A reward of twenty pounds was offered for the recovery of the animal,

and to obtain this, Holliss seduced Page into a snare, and then gave him into the custody of officers, whom he had procured to arrest him. This man was tried at Kingston, and from the evidence of Holliss, found guilty, and was one of the last of those who were condemned to death for this offence. He was hanged at the gaol at Horsemonger Lane.

The success of Holliss in this adventure completed his ruin: for his share of the reward was small, and soon spent; he was scouted by every one of his acquaintance; and soon afterwards died in a state of great wretchedness and poverty.

Vaughan, originally a stone-mason's labourer, was a fellow of bad character, without common prudence, and of dissolute and drunken habits. He caused the disturbance at Holywell Mount from feelings of envy and mischief towards Murphy. On the following session he took up his residence, unknown to the rest of the party, at Manchester, from which town, as well as from Liverpool, he sent a large supply of Subjects to the Metropolis. He came to London at Christmas, and was then, through the agency of Murphy, as already mentioned, delivered into the hands of officers from Maidstone, from the gaol of which place he had in the course of the previous summer effected his escape, under circumstances of great aggravation. Here he was confined for two years. He subsequently went to Yarmouth, and, in consequence of some imprudent intimacy with a young woman there, to whom he represented himself as an unmarried person, his

occupations were detected, and he was committed to prison. He was at last sent out of the country by Mr. Justice Gazelee, under the following circumstances:—

In consequence of the ill-feeling which existed against Vaughan among his companions in London, and his detection at Manchester, he determined to carry on his trade in some new part of the country, and accordingly went down to Plymouth to reconnoitre, and determine whether or not it was a likely place to suit his purpose. The result of his visit was a belief that business might be done there, and he therefore took a house in the vicinity of the town, at a village called Stoke, close to a church-yard. He then sent for his wife, and when they were established in their new abode, procured two men from London, to assist him in his avocations. One of these, also, brought his wife with him, so that there were then five persons in the house. Here they lived together for some months, unsuspected of any illegal practices. Vaughan's vicious habits at last led to their detection; for after a time he began to pay court to a female servant of a family living nearly opposite to his house. The girl, however, not only turned a deaf ear to his entreaties, but began to suspect some ill intention in the whole party. She determined closely to watch their proceedings, and, having discovered fresh reasons to doubt their respectability, informed her master of her suspicions. This gentleman, his curiosity being roused, himself now observed their movements, and soon felt convinced that love

of retirement, which they had stated as their reason for coming to this sequestered spot, was not the only motive for their residence, and even thought that there was sufficient ground to place them under the surveillance of the police. He accordingly revealed his suspicions to the authorities at Plymouth, stating his belief that the party had come down there for the purpose of smuggling.

A person, by the name of Ellis, an active London Bow Street officer, had just about that time been placed at the head of the Plymouth police, and at once took the matter in hand. Disguising himself, he went on the following day to the dwelling of the suspected individuals, and, after sauntering about some time, recognised Vaughan as a London body-snatcher, without being himself observed by any of the party. He prosecuted his further proceedings accordingly. Ascertaining that two funerals were to take place the next day, he resolved to watch their movements on the occasion; and accordingly, habited as a countryman, in a smock-frock, with other appropriate disguise, he attended at the burial as a mourner for one of the deceased. He was not surprised to see the whole of the suspected set, women as well as men, joining in the crowd which followed at the heels of the procession. No sooner were the bodies committed to the grave, than Ellis went back to Plymouth; but, being now fully convinced of the intentions of the party, he returned to the church-yard at night-fall, bringing with him three men, to insure a sufficient force to carry his plans into effect. So

determined was he to get every proof of the guilt of Vaughan and his party, that he apprised the relatives of the deceased of his suspicions, and kept them at hand, ready to identify the bodies, if he succeeded in finding them on their premises. Thus prepared, Ellis and his party secreted themselves in the churchyard, and at about ten o'clock saw the exhumators commence their work, and soon afterwards deposit the bodies in their place of dwelling.

In about an hour, watching the house in the mean time, that the objects of their search might not be removed, Ellis rapped at the door: Vaughan himself obeyed the summons, and immediately recognising Ellis, who had thrown aside his disguise, hurriedly asked him what had brought him there so late at night. On learning his errand, being but little aware of the extent of knowledge which his visitor had of his proceedings, he begged of him, with apparent indifference, to search the house that he might convince himself of the fallacy of his suspicions. A signal was immediately given by Ellis, his assistants came up, entered the house with him, and the bodies were soon found secreted in a back kitchen. The relatives of the exhumed bodies were sent for, and at once identified them, and the whole party of Resurrectionists, before daylight, were safely lodged in the gaol at Plymouth.

This outrage was rendered felonious, instead of being a mere misdemeanour, by the circumstance of their having taken some of the clothes in which the bodies had been buried. When their trial came

on, they were first charged with the misdemeanour, convicted, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. They were then put upon their trial for the felony, and some stockings and a shift, which were found on their premises, being proved to be part of the clothes in which one of the deceased had been buried, they were sentenced to seven years' transportation. Vaughan and his wife have never returned to this country, although the period of their banishment has long expired.

During the dispute about the price of Subjects, the original party of Resurrectionists was broken up, and others were introduced into the business. Among these were a number of Spitalfield weavers: but they only occasionally supplied the Schools, and always with the greatest secresy; for if the regular men caught them with bodies, the usual fortune of the weavers was to be well threshed and despoiled of the Subjects they had raised, which were then carried to the nearest market, and disposed of for the advantage of the victors. Those who were regularly admitted into the set, were Murphy, Crouch, a younger brother of the former of the same name, Patrick, L——, and some others, to whom allusion has already been made in the foregoing history.

MURPHY was brought into the business either by Crouch or Harnett, and, for an uneducated man, was one of the cleverest I have ever known. He was tall, stout, and strong, with a broad, flat, open countenance, and had a touch of Irish humour and

shrewdness. He was never baffled in carrying his point, however long delayed, or whatever change of tactics might be required. He was in general very civil, and very rarely drunk; was very earnest and argumentative, and always plausible in his discussions on the arrangement of the business of an approaching session.

He was of a stern, unforgiving disposition. He had a son who robbed him of a five-pound bank-note; circumstances having led to his detection, the father brought him before a magistrate, and he was committed for trial. He was sentenced to imprisonment in Horsemonger-Lane Gaol. In this place the son became mad, and on his removal from prison, he was admitted as a patient into Guy's Hospital. He was in some measure restored to his senses, but was ever afterwards imbecile.

Murphy had none of the open and bold daring of Crouch,—cunning and artifice were his predominant qualities, and he therefore much less frequently exposed himself to personal danger and inconvenience than the former leader. He amassed as much money, however, as Crouch, and built many houses; but had disposed of the greater part of them before his death. House property, indeed, seemed to be the great object to be attained by these men. Some of them, wishing to follow the example of their more successful leaders, and seeming to believe that such a possession was the certain road to a permanent sufficiency, entered into speculations of this sort, and had scarcely completed the settlement of

their bargain, when they were obliged either to mortgage the purchase, or sell it for half its value. The inconsiderate expenditure of money which distinguished these people is easily accounted for, when we consider the comparatively large sums of money which they often suddenly received; never before, perhaps, having had more than a few shillings at a time in their possession. A man has lately told me that nearly one of his first acts in the business brought him into possession of thirty-eight pounds, when he believed he never before had had five pounds in his hands.

Murphy was never idle in his business; at the time of the year when Subjects were no longer required for dissection, he was selling skeletons, collecting teeth, or planning for his winter's campaign. He followed these last-mentioned occupations until the time of his death, which event occurred about a year ago. He left a wife and one child well provided for, and, I am informed, bearing a most respectable character. They have since changed their name; as, indeed, have the connexions of almost all the Resurrectionists whose histories I have been relating.

L—— was a gentleman's servant, who, as far as I know, bore a decent character until he was detected in taking the plate-glass from the windows of carriages. For this offence he was sentenced to be transported for seven years, and passed the period in one of the hulks at Portsmouth. Upon his liberation, he became a Resurrectionist, in which occupa-

tion, however, he never could be trusted either by the teachers or by his associates, whom he cheated on every occasion that offered itself.

After a time he became so notorious for knavery, that none of the men would work with him, so that he had given up his occupation before the passing of the Anatomy Bill, and gained his living as a horsekeeper, on several of the principal roads. He was obliged, as he himself told me, to change his quarters whenever he became recognised, on account of the odium to which it subjected him. I was one day on a coach, when, on changing horses, I observed this man, but by no means that I could devise, could I get him to acknowledge any acquaintanceship with me. I threw him a shilling, and so strong was his objection to meet my eye, lest the recognition should be observed, that he even did not look at me as he thanked me. When we drove off, I asked the coachman his character as a horsekeeper; to which he replied, "The best between here and York: no horsekeeper, that I know, can turn out his cattle and harness like him."

L——, however, gave up this business, from the annoyances to which he was subjected by the repeated allusions to his previous occupation, and thus he became driven off the road. He then came to town, and settled in a neighbourhood where he had some connexions who were Methodists. One of these persons interested himself very much in the conversion of L——, who thinking he might turn this attention to his future welfare to some profitable

temporary account, gradually accommodated himself to the circumstances of this novel position. He went about with a staid and demure aspect, carrying a Bible under his arm; became one of the most regular attendants at the chapel meetings, and was soon conspicuous for the apparent earnestness of his devotions. His artifice succeeded so well, that the dissenters, among whom he now appeared one of the most scrupulous, were actually induced to subscribe together and purchase a horse and cab, to establish him in business. As soon as he had effected this object, he immediately threw off his disguise, and now drives about London, with as little of the appearance as he has of the character of a religious enthusiast.

The younger Crouch had been brought up to his father's business, as a carpenter, and acted in that capacity at Guy's Hospital, until he joined the Resurrectionists. He was of small size, good-tempered, but a great liar, and of no value to any one. When the party was broken up, he, in company with another brother, who had never been an exhumator, joined the British Legion, and went to Spain, where he was killed while in action.

Patrick was originally a sailor employed in the transport service. He subsequently became a corn porter, and from his activity and conduct in this occupation, attracted the notice of Murphy at a time when he was in want of an assistant. After some persuasion he was induced to enter into Murphy's service, and he continued to work with him at

Holywell Mount until the occurrence of the disturbance caused by Holliss and Vaughan, which has been previously related.

Patrick was a short, broad-chested man; very active, yet powerful; always in good humour; not a drunkard, and apparently honest. He always acted with Murphy, whom he appeared to look up to as one of the greatest men living, and seldom, at any time, appeared as a principal in the business. I have heard him say that it was always his anxious wish to remain as long as possible unknown by the public and his friends as a Resurrectionist.

He displayed considerable courage on several occasions. An instance of this occurred one morning when he was taking to the School in Webb Street some bones which he had obtained from the convict burial-place at Woolwich. On passing a coal shed near the place of his destination, he was noticed by two men, who being aware of the nature of his employment, and suspecting the contents of the parcel which he was carrying, followed and determined to expose him. He, however, observed their intention, and, to deceive them as to his object, avoided walking in his usual direction, but went by a circuitous route. Although partly thrown off their guard by this trick, they still followed him, but at a greater distance, so that Patrick, on arriving opposite to a small wicket door, which opened into the yard of the School, thinking himself able to effect his passage before they could reach him, suddenly dashed across the road in its

direction. Upon this, the two men behind hastened towards him with all possible speed, calling "Stop thief," on their way, but did not reach him until just as Patrick had sprung within the gate. Unfortunately for the latter, from the force which he employed in trying to close the gate, in his anxiety to exclude his pursuers, he caused a rope which, with a weight, was connected to the door, to insure its constant closure, to fall between it and the door-frame: this impediment prevented his bolting it. The two men continued to try forcibly to effect their entrance, while by their exclamations they attracted many others to the spot.

There was only one man in the place to assist Patrick, and as soon as he arrived, Patrick placed him against the door, whilst he himself ran up the stairs to the dissecting-room to deposit his parcel. At last the crowd forced down the gate and effected an entrance. Patrick, fearing for the man whom he had left to protect the door, ran down towards the stable, which was at one end of the yard, and seizing a large pitchfork, for some time kept his enraged assailants at bay.

In the mean time some one had gone to Mr. Grainger, who was breakfasting at the time with several pupils, and informed him, that if some measures were not instantly adopted, his school would be in ruins. He at once went to the Town Hall, and procured a body of constables to assist him, and arriving in Webb Street, succeeded after a time, amid hisses and execrations, in dispersing the crowd,

and rescuing the unfortunate Resurrectionist, who, overpowered, had retreated into the stable. Patrick was obliged, however, to remain concealed at the School until night. A long and highly-coloured account of the disturbance appeared in the papers on the following day. Mr. Grainger afterwards brought the two persons, who had commenced the riot, before a magistrate, and they were imprisoned.

Patrick was at one time in Cold Bath Fields' prison, for robbing a burial-ground in conjunction with a man of the name of Millard. He afterwards entered into a business in London, in which he is still engaged, and bears an excellent character for integrity and propriety of conduct.

Millard was originally in the service of a gentleman who was a relation of Mr. Cline. He was afterwards employed as a superintendent to the dissecting-room at St. Thomas's Hospital, and a more trustworthy man for some time could scarcely exist. By his cleverness and industry, both the professors and the pupils were placed under personal obligation to him, and the business of the dissecting-room department of the School owed much of its regularity to his conduct. He was, however, particularly fond of money, nor was there at any time an opportunity of turning, I believe I may say, an honest penny, that he ever allowed to slip through his fingers. The dresses worn by the students during dissection, the boxes in which they were kept, second-hand works on anatomy, and instruments of every kind, were sold to the pupils by Millard;

and by these means, superadded to his salary, he made a tolerably large income for a person in his station of life. Notwithstanding his mercenary disposition, he never allowed it to interfere with his self-gratification, for he was always most lavish in his expenditure for dress and good living; and used to boast that no one connected with the hospital kept a better table, or wore better apparel than himself. He was sober and industrious in his habits, and by his uncompromising courage, not only prevented the Resurrectionists from committing irregularities in the School, but kept them in constant awe of him. He was a great boxer, and when quarrels ensued, would offer to settle the dispute by fighting any one of the number; but all shrunk from such a conflict.

Subsequently, however, his expensive habits induced him to lose all consideration for the School to which he was attached, and led him to acts of dishonesty; so that ultimately he was discharged from St. Thomas's, for, perhaps, the greatest breach of confidence and want of grateful feeling he could have exhibited towards his employers. Mr. —— went down to the School one afternoon, at a time when the dissecting-rooms had been for some months very ill supplied, and was crossing one of the quadrangles to the anatomical theatre, depressed in spirits from the stand-still of the most important department of the School for the want of Subjects, when he met "the King of the Resurrectionists," as Murphy was sometimes called. Murphy, with a smile, said

to Mr. —— as he came up to him, "Well, sir, things are looking up a little; I suppose I have pleased you rather these three or four last days." "Pray, for what?" said Mr. ——, "for doing all you can to prevent Subjects being brought in, I suppose, while other Schools, I am told, are well supplied by you." "Why, sir, at any rate I brought you three the night before last, and two this very morning." "You are sure of that?" said Mr. ——. "That I most certainly am, for I have got the money for them," replied the Resurrectionist. Mr. —— desired Murphy to follow him, for a suspicion of some underhand conduct on the part of Millard flashed across his mind, and he was determined to confront Murphy with him. Wishing, however, at first to see Millard alone, and finding that he was in the Lecturer's private room, he requested his informer to remain in the passage until he called him.

As soon as Mr. —— opened the door, he said, "Well, Millard, any Subjects in?" "No, sir," replied the man; "and it is very extraordinary; I wonder how the men can hold out so long, when such prices are offered." "Have you not had one this week?" "No, sir, not a single thing;" upon which the Lecturer opened the door and called in Murphy. Millard declared Murphy's account to be all a fabrication; upon which the latter, feeling certain that the Subjects brought to the hospital in the morning were still on the premises, obtained leave to search for them. He at last succeeded in finding them lying in a corner of an outhouse, covered over

with shavings,—on which again was a wheelbarrow, appearing as if overturned by accident. It was then ascertained that Millard had been for some time in the habit of receiving and paying for bodies, which, instead of appropriating to the uses of his own employers, he had packed up, and regularly despatched by sea, at an advanced price, to Edinburgh. This was too bad to be endured, and although he had for some years borne an excellent character as a trustworthy servant, he was immediately dismissed from the establishment; and so conscious did he seem of his guilt, that he did not even supplicate forgiveness, but asked only for time to remove his property from the premises.

Millard having been a great favourite with the pupils, was recommended to establish an eating-house in the Borough for their use, which he accordingly opened soon after his dismissal from the hospital. From the patronage at first extended towards him, his undertaking appeared to be about to be attended with success, but after a time, it being discovered by the public that he was still in league with the Resurrectionists, and at work with them, his business gradually declined, and he was ultimately obliged to give it up altogether, having sustained a heavy loss.

He now devoted himself wholly to the occupation of a Resurrectionist. One night he went with Patrick to obtain a body which had been buried in a ground attached to the London Hospital. A week before, the dead-house had been forcibly

broken open by Vaughan, and two Subjects removed; and in consequence of this outrage, the Governors had offered a reward for the apprehension of any one attempting to rob the graves in this ground. There were many persons, therefore, on the watch, and some patients, who were looking out from one of the upper windows, saw Millard and Patrick come across the field at the back of the hospital, and get over the wall. An alarm was immediately given, and the offenders were shortly afterwards taken into custody by officers, who had the greatest difficulty in protecting them from the violence of the enraged patients. They were subsequently sentenced to three months' confinement in Cold Bath Fields' prison for this offence.

Through the mediation of Mr. Webbe, the surgeon, they were here treated by the governor with great consideration and kindness, and were allowed to pass the time in the infirmary. Millard, in a short time, through the assistance of a solicitor, found bail, and procured his liberty. He had no sooner obtained this object, than he brought an action against the magistrate at Lambeth Street for false imprisonment, on the score that he had not been detected as a Resurrectionist, no grave having been opened or disturbed by him. This, however, was at once set aside, and moreover, to Millard's mortification, he was sent back to prison to complete the term of his sentence.

Extraordinary to relate, this failure had so powerful an effect upon his mind, as to produce a

depression of spirits quite inexplicable in such a daring character. He refused his food, was constantly shedding tears, and gradually sank under the affliction. This extreme state of despondency was said in some measure to be caused by the refusal of Sir Astley Cooper to solicit a pardon for him from the Secretary for the Home Department, according to a request which Millard made to him for the purpose. Millard became greatly enraged at Sir Astley's refusal of his petition, and was heard to swear that he would revenge himself by inflicting some bodily harm upon him. His threats were made known to my friend Mr. Wakefield, then acting as assistant surgeon to the institution, under Mr. Webbe, and he called upon Sir Astley and advised him not to visit Millard, which he had otherwise intended to have done. I afterwards went to the prison, and, in company with Mr. Wakefield, saw Millard about a week or ten days before he died: he was then in the lowest state of despondency. The immediate cause of his death was a fever which he caught in the infirmary, where in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, the disorder being then prevalent in that part of the prison, he had remained rather than go to his cell. From his depressed condition of mind and body, he soon sank under the malady, and died in a state of raving madness.

The wife of this person subsequently published a work, entitled an *Account of the Circumstances attending the Imprisonment and Death of the late*

William Millard, &c. Its chief object appears to have been to vilify Sir Astley Cooper, for refusing to intercede for her husband's discharge from prison, or afterwards to settle a pension upon herself; but it was loaded with statements, so evidently absurd, respecting the various metropolitan hospitals, and such violent abuse of the officers severally connected with them, that it defeated its own object, and failed to attract any attention.

I have thus briefly detailed the private histories and the sequel of the lives, of a class of men whose occupation separated them almost wholly from familiar intercourse with every grade in society. The absence of all decent feeling, which, as far as has come to our knowledge in the investigation, seems to have been more or less necessary to their condition,—naturally enough excites the inquiry, whether their deficiency in this respect arose from the illegal nature of their avocations and the popular odium with which they were regarded, or whether it formed a feature of that previous depraved condition of mind which led them to seek this extraordinary mode of gaining a subsistence; but this is a question far more easily asked than answered: probably all the causes mentioned tended to this result.

It is held as a common maxim, that those who make use, in any way, of persons employed in illicit transactions, are as criminal as the delinquents themselves; but in this case, the urgent

necessity, for the sake of the public good, of such apparent dereliction from duty, removes such a charge of guilt from the surgeons. If the study of the healing art be, as has been acknowledged from the earliest period, one of the most beneficial purposes to which the human mind can apply itself,—if it be true that its highest object is the alleviation of human suffering,—it seems evident enough that but a small degree of opprobrium can attach to any means, not morally wrong, of acquiring the knowledge necessary to this desirable end. When the dead can be rendered subservient to the most important interests of the living,—however much humanity may shudder at the idea of a beloved relative being disturbed from the stillness of the tomb,—who is there that would not sacrifice those feelings of repugnance, which, though so common, in truth can after all be traced only to selfish motives? Who is there, I would ask, that would not at once yield them in a particular case, where the result might be the saving of the offspring from a fate similar to that which had destroyed the parent? If the justness of this view as to individuals be admitted, it is an admission at once, in my opinion, of the same question as regards the whole community.

Besides, it must be considered, that it is perfectly impossible that any man, in any branch of our profession, can become a safe practitioner, unless he be fully conversant with the healthy structure of the human body; and there cannot be, therefore, a better instance of good springing from evil,

than the benefits which have arisen out of the various circumstances I have been describing; namely, the legalization of anatomy, and the facilities now afforded for the pursuit of this important science.

In taking a retrospective view of the many eminent men who grace the annals of our country, it is a matter of pride to every medical man, to observe the numbers of his own profession who are found in the list; and in examining the comparative rank of each of these distinguished men, it will be found generally to have depended upon the extent of the anatomical knowledge of the individual. This acquirement could only have been obtained by frequent dissection. John Hunter, the greatest philosopher, and Sir Astley Cooper, the most scientific and enterprising surgeon, the medical profession of this country has ever had to boast of,—both derived their fame from one and the same origin; and it is equally certain, even at the present time, that whoever would wish to emulate their eminence, must base his claims to distinction upon knowledge emanating from the same source:—Dissection of the Dead.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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